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ART. I.—*A General Abridgment and Digest of American Law, with occasional Notes and Comments.* By NATHAN DANE, LL. D. Counsellor at Law. In eight volumes. 8vo. Boston. Cummings, Hilliard, & Co. 1823–4.

THE utility of abridgments, in all departments of learning, will scarcely be doubted by any person, who is accustomed to due reflection on the subject. The vast extent and intricacy of some branches of knowledge, the minute distinctions and details of others, and the perpetual accumulations of all, present obstacles to a thorough mastery of them, which are not easily overcome by the most powerful genius, or the most retentive memory. Those, who are to learn, must be assisted by steps, by general principles, by succinct elucidation, and by compendious abstracts, before they are able to engage in the task of comprehensive analogies; and those, who are themselves instructed, find that memory is often treacherous, and that the constant demand for knowledge compels them to use many helps, in order to facilitate their recurrence to exact principles, or exact facts. The details of a whole science, at least in our day, are probably beyond the immediate grasp of any single mind, however gigantic. Recollections must be constantly refreshed, and the obscure traces of past acquirements carefully retraced, if we aspire to anything like a vigorous command of that department of knowledge, to which we are most devoted.

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Dr Priestley, whose various scientific, as well as general knowledge, will scarcely be questioned, has somewhere stated, that he made use of many mechanical aids, in the course of his own studies, some of which might be thought so humble, as to excite a smile, or even a doubt of the abilities of the author. Indeed, the general auxiliary of most students used to be a commonplace book, in which the various readings and accumulations of their learned hours were collected, sometimes with and sometimes without method. In whatever shape these were preserved, they had the good effect of fixing the impressions of many important truths, and of saving many hours of fruitless research to regain what was lost from the memory. Before the invention of printing, this labor must have been very great, among the learned; and it has been gradually lessening, only because the press has, in the principal departments of learning, by means of indexes, digests, compends, concordances, dictionaries, and other abridgments, supplied their place, and brought within a reasonable compass, the mass of those references, which are most useful to the scholar, the professional gentleman, and the scientific student. It is true, therefore, what of old was said, *Qui compendianam alicujus artis sive scientiæ viam indicat, is gemino beneficio juvat studiosum; primum, ut maturius quo tendit pertingat, deinde ut minori labore sumptuque quod sequitur assequatur.*

But whatever may be thought of other cases, it is certain, that in the department of law, abridgments are indispensable. Before Reports of adjudged cases were published, no other adequate means existed of acquiring the science of jurisprudence, than what were furnished by a faithful attendance upon the courts, and a diligent collection of the substance of their decisions. The early professors of the common law were compelled to resort to commonplace books, and personal reports of cases, falling under their own observation. Many manuscripts of this description are still extant, exhibiting a patient industry, care, and accuracy, worthy of all praise. The labor indeed of these venerable jurists, almost transcends the belief of students of the present day. They noted every case, in all its points and principles; they abstracted, from records, and general treatises, and private manuscripts, often obscure and crabbed, everything that could be found to aid them in study or in practice. They gathered voluminous collections of special pleadings, and unusual writs and judgments, to suit the exigencies of their

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possible avocations, and thought no labor too great, which brought any solid addition to their knowledge, or any increased facilities to their clients.

The necessity was the more pressing in those days, from the subtleties, and quibbles, and scholastic logic, which characterized every department of learning. The law then dealt with forms, even more than with substances. The slightest variance from the *Registrum Brevium*, the neglect of any precise technical order, the most insignificant error in words, the smallest mistake in the description of persons or things, nay, the omission of a single letter was perilous, and brought in its train an abatement of the suit, and sometimes, by consequence, an extinction of the remedy. The strictness observed in England, in the present times, to discourage the use of the Writ of Right, affords some feeble illustration of this misplaced ingenuity, in hunting up and sustaining objections. The curious refinements, the nice distinctions, the quaint conceits, the arbitrary formularies, and the stiff, unbending roughness of the bar and bench in those days, made everything important, from the first rudiment of principle, to the last ramification of practice. There were no public repositories, in which principles or practices could be ascertained by a glance of the eye. They were to be learned from the oral explanations of the ancient sages of the law, or the conversational debates of the judges, or the close lecture rooms of the benchers, or the dry expositions of the titular readers of the Inns of Court.

When Reports began to be published, the labor was not materially diminished. The decisions were not uniformly reported at stated times; and many cases were not reported at all. The early reports contain no indexes. The Year Books have not a single line, to direct the student to their contents, and leave their bulky and abbreviated text without title or comment, so mixed up in one common mass, that it requires no small share of historical knowledge to ascertain, who, at any given period, speak as judges or as counsel. When tables of contents came subsequently into fashion, they were so incomplete and incorrect, that they were comparatively of little assistance. Ashe's Repertory, or Table to the Year Books, large as it seems in two ponderous folios, does nothing more, than put one upon inquiry, and condescends not to select a single proposition asserted by the cases. Indeed the original indexes to the old reporters are almost useless, and, in some instances, serve only the bad

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purpose of misleading the inquirer, by holding out hopes, which vanish when he touches the adjudication.

The practice of keeping commonplace books, which was thus begun from absolute necessity by the old lawyers, was afterwards continued from a sense of its convenience. Nor was it generally discontinued by the profession until a late period; and it is not perhaps without some examples, even in the present age. In America, the anterevolutionary lawyers were in the habit of compiling manuscript abridgments for their private use, some of which have reached our times. They also left behind them many notes of adjudications, which are yet to be found in the hands of the curious and the learned. And probably, in most of the states, the practice of preserving short notes of new cases, was common among the leaders at the bar, until the legislature provided for the regular publication of Reports.

It is to sources like those already adverted to, that we owe the early, and perhaps all the abridgments hitherto made of the common law. What was introduced originally from the mere scantiness of public materials, in process of time obtained a continued favor from the unwieldy bulk of adjudications. Lord Coke poured the contents of his commonplace book into his Commentary upon Littleton, and his superabundant Reports. Plowden may well be suspected of the same overlearned zeal; and Lord Hale has attested his own unwearied diligence and antiquarian researches, by manuscript collections, which yet surprise us by their variety and comprehensiveness.

The earliest printed Abridgment of the law is that of Statham (Nicholas), who was appointed a baron of the exchequer in the eighth year of the reign of Edward the Fourth (1468). It is a very curious book, printed, as it would seem, before titlepages were in use, for it is without any titlepage, or imprint, or date; and the only notice we have of the printer, is the following brief and modest remark, at the end of a short table of contents; 'Per me R. Pynson.' It has been conjectured from the type, that it was printed at Rouen, by William Le Tailleur, who printed Littleton's Tenures for Pynson. The latter was bred in the service of Caxton, the first printer with metal types in England, and he succeeded his master in the business. Statham's Abridgment was published between the years 1470 and 1490, and is a remarkable specimen of the typography of the age. It shows, that there has been little substantial improvement in the art, during the three last centuries. The art appears indeed to

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have reached perfection within the first half century after its invention. The copy now before us seems to have formerly belonged to Sir Heneage Finch, afterwards the celebrated Earl of Nottingham. The paper is of a very firm, silky texture, forming a strong contrast to the sleazy linen and cotton of our day; the ink is of a bright jetty and unfaded black; the type, though small and partly composed of abbreviated characters, has a sharp and distinct face; and the mechanical execution is so exact, that scarcely a letter exhibits a blur, and the surface of every page presents a uniform appearance, putting to shame many of the standard volumes of our times. The work itself contains, under appropriate heads, brief abstracts of the cases in the Year Books, to the end of the reign of Henry the Sixth, as well as some cases not elsewhere to be found. It has now very little value, except occasionally to verify a quotation, or to gratify the curiosity of a professed antiquary.

The next Abridgment, in the order of time, is that of Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, first printed by Pynson about 1516, and afterwards reprinted in 1565 and 1577. The edition of 1565 is far the best, for size of type and general accuracy. Besides many cases not reported at large, it contains an abstract of all the cases in the Year Books, down to the twentyfirst year of the reign of Henry the Seventh. It has always been deemed of very high authority, where the author states cases solely on his own responsibility. The marginal titles and numbers, in the common editions of the Year Books, refer to the titles and numbers of this Abridgment. The learned author died in 1538, leaving behind him the reputation of a very laborious and upright judge.

At the distance of half a century afterwards, followed the Abridgment of Sir Robert Brooke, of which there have been several reprints; but the best is that on royal paper by Tottell, in 1573. It contains the substance of Fitzherbert, together with a collection of the later authorities, some of which are nowhere else extant.

The character of the Abridgments of Fitzherbert and Brooke, may be summed up in a few words. They are mere indexes, under general heads, of the principal adjudged cases up to their own times, in which the points are accurately stated, but without any attention to order, or any attempt at classification. As repositories of the old law, they now maintain a very considerable value, and may be consulted with advantage. Whoever

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examines them (for a thorough perusal of them will be a mere waste of time), will probably feel inclined, when he can, to ascend to the original sources; but if these should not be within his reach, he may rely with confidence, that these learned judges have not indulged themselves in a careless transcription, or a loose statement of the law. In our own practice we have frequently found them the safest guides to the old law, and particularly to the contents of the Year Books. At the times, when these Abridgments were originally published, they must have been very acceptable presents to the profession; but many of the titles are now obsolete; and the works lie on the dusty shelves of our libraries, rarely disturbed, except upon some extraordinary inquiry, touching the feudal tenures, or the doctrine of *seizin*. The modest motto prefixed to both of them deserves to be remembered;—*Ne moy reproves sauns cause, car mon entent est de bon amour.*

We pass over, without observation, Hughes's Abridgment, printed in 1660, because it embraces but a short period, and is a mere supplement to the earlier works; and also Sheppard's Abridgment, printed in 1675, because, though not disreputable in its execution, it scarcely struggled into existence against the superior work of Lord Chief Justice Rolle, which was published under the auspices of Sir Matthew Hale, in 1668. Lord Hale contributed to it a very able and learned preface, in which he bestows just commendation on its execution; and of the author he says, 'He was a man of very great natural abilities, of a ready and clear understanding, strong memory, sound, deliberate, and steady judgment; of a fixed attention of mind to all business, that came before him; of great freedom from passions and perturbations, of great temperance and moderation, of a strong and healthy constitution of body, which rendered him fit for study and business, and indefatigable in it.' The Abridgment itself is a posthumous work, intended by the author for his own private use, and not for the public; and Lord Hale says, 'though it is of excellent use and worth, yet it comes far short of the worth and abilities of him that compiled it, and therefore is an unequal monument of him.' The chief advantage, that it possesses over the earlier compilations, is in a more scientific arrangement of the materials, and a greater subdivision of the general heads, so as to bring together matters of the same nature or relative to the same branch, instead of heaping them up into one undistinguishing mass. Mr Hargrave,

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in his edition of Coke on Littleton (note 1 to page 9), speaks of it, as a 'work most excellent in its kind; and in point of method, succinctness, legal precision, and many other respects, fit to be proposed as an example for other Abridgments of Law.' In practice, however, it has been, in a great measure, superseded by the later works, and is resorted to, principally, to verify quotations, when the original authorities are not to be found reported at large, or when Lord Rolle has stated circumstances, which are omitted by other authors.

D'Anvers's Abridgment, printed early in the eighteenth century, which, Mr Viner informs us, was thirtytwo years in passing through the press,* is a mere translation of Rolle, with the addition of more modern cases, and is incomplete, extending only to the title 'Extinguishment.' Nelson's is chiefly borrowed from Hughes, and though the author was a very harsh and unsparing critic on the labors of others, his own have a general character of incorrectness stamped upon them, and have fallen into utter neglect.

Bacon's Abridgment, so well known to the profession, was first published in 1736, and has passed through six large editions. The contents of the work owe very little to the nominal author, (Matthew Bacon, Esquire, of the Middle Temple,) and were chiefly extracted from the manuscript collections of Lord Chief Baron Gilbert. Mr Gwillim has well observed, 'that it was the hard fate of his excellent writings to lose their author, before they had received his last corrections and improvements, and in that unfinished state to be thrust into the world without even the common care of an ordinary editor. Those invaluable tracts were, for the most part, published, not only with their original imperfections, without any attempt to supply their defects, or explain or correct what seemed in them perplexed or erroneous, but with all the improprieties and inaccuracies, which the ignorance and neglect of the amanuenses, whom the author's infirmities compelled him to employ, could accumulate upon them.' Mr Bacon deserves very little credit, in any view, because he seems so have been willing to appropriate to himself the labors of another, without due acknowledgment, and to have employed no diligence in correcting errors, and no learning in supplying deficiencies. He died before the work was completed; and the remainder, from the title 'Sheriff,' was furnished by Mr Sergeant Sayer and Mr Ruffhead.

* Preface to the eighteenth volume of his Abridgment.

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Of this collection, which has been almost for a century before the public, it seems scarcely necessary, at the present time, to express any opinion. It consists of a series of tracts, or dissertations upon various topics of the law, generally illustrated by adjudications, and though incomplete, exhibiting a rare union of sagacity and industry. As a text book for students, it has long maintained an unrivalled reputation; and as the expositions of a very able and learned judge upon a large survey of the law, dealing with its history and its reasons, it must forever hold a high rank among the treasures of the profession. Mr Gwillim's edition is far the best, which has appeared in England, and is entitled to much praise for the manner in which the duties of the editor have been performed. This edition has been republished in America, under the superintendance of Bird Wilson, Esquire, who has enriched it with many valuable additions. Still it must be admitted, that there is great awkwardness and inconvenience in ingrafting such an abundance of marginal notes upon the original text, threatening, in every new edition, to overlay, if they do not bury it beneath their weight.

Mr Viner's Abridgment was published between the years 1741 and 1751, and extending as it does over the space of twentyfour folio volumes, may be thought by some not to have a very apt title. The learned author passed a whole life in compiling the work, and superintending the printing of it, which, by the consent of the Law patentees, was done at his own house, in Aldershot in Hampshire. The basis of the work is Rolle's Abridgment, with the addition of all the materials, which had accumulated in the intermediate period. In the preface, (which appears in the thirteenth volume,* occasioned by the author's having begun with the title 'Factor,' where D'Anvers ended his Abridgment,) he states, that he commenced the undertaking with the eighteenth century, and it was, of course, for nearly fifty years under his revising hand. Mr Hargrave (Co. Litt. 9. a. note 3.) calls it an immense body of law and equity, which, notwithstanding all its defects and inaccuracies, must be allowed to be a necessary part of every lawyer's library. He adds, that it is a most useful compilation, and would have been infinitely more so, if the author had been less singular and more nice in his arrangement and method, and more studious in avoiding repetitions. This praise, qualified as it is, seems

* There is a second preface in the eighteenth volume.

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to us rather to go beyond, than to fall short of the real merits of the work. It is a cumbrous compilation, by no means accurate or complete in its citations, and difficult to use, from the irregularity with which the matter is distributed, and from the inadequacy, and sometimes the inaptness of the subdivisions. Indeed everything appears to have been thrown into it, without any successful attempt at method or exactness.

Almost everything valuable in the older Abridgments is indeed to be found in it; but sometimes so ill arranged, that the search is almost as troublesome, as it would be to run over the whole title in Fitzherbert or Brooke. The author has observed, in the preface to his thirteenth volume, that 'the study of the law is a very long journey, and the roads not the plainest; in which they [Abridgments] may serve as posts and Mercuries to direct the students in their way, but ought not by any means to be considered as their journey's end, or place of their last resort and residence.' What a pity, that the author had not more diligently followed the directions, which he seems to approve by the above allusion. He has, by no means, made the roads very plain or smooth; and the sign posts, which he has put up, do not always indicate either the truest way or the shortest distance to the striking point of the traveller's journey. Nor has he the satisfactory apology, *dum brevis esse laboro, obscurus fio;* for his work is both long and confused. It may, and indeed ought, to constitute a part of every law library, which aims to be tolerably complete; for it embraces the body of the law, antecedent to the reign of George the Third. Its principal merit is its extent; and though in some parts it is redundant, in others defective, and in all irregular, it is a vast Index of the law, which time and patience can master; and it often rewards the labor, when all other resources have failed the diligent searcher for authorities.

It is impossible, however, not to feel, that we owe to this work a deep debt of gratitude, which should disarm criticism, and almost extinguish every recollection of its infirmities. To the establishment of the Vinerian Professorship, at Oxford University, we are indebted for one of the most elegant and classical works in our language, 'The Commentaries on the Law of England,' by Sir William Blackstone. From a zeal for the study of the law, for 'the benefit of posterity, and the perpetual service of his country,' Mr Viner devoted his property, and the proceeds of the sale of his great Abridgment to the noble pur-

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pose of founding a Professorship of the Common Law; and we are informed, that the fund proved sufficiently productive to enable the University, also, to establish some fellowships and scholarships for the study of the law there.*

A work of a very different character, and almost perfect in its kind, is the Digest of Lord Chief Baron Comyns. Though a posthumous publication, it has been justly observed, that unlike most publications of that nature, it was left by its learned author, in a state very fit to meet the eye of the public. Lord Chief Baron Comyns died sometime between the years 1740 and 1743; the exact period Mr Rose, his late editor, does not seem to have been able to ascertain. It is a melancholy fact, that very few particulars of the lives even of the most eminent lawyers reach posterity. Great as their fame may be, and extensive as may be their professional labors while living, they rarely leave a permanent impression upon the public mind; and after the lapse of a few years, the most diligent search enables us to collect little more than the facts of their birth, death, and parentage. This distinguished judge is a very striking illustration of the remark. It was said by the late Lord Kenyon, that 'Comyns's opinion alone is of great authority, since he was considered by his contemporaries as the most able lawyer in Westminster Hall.' (3 T. R. 64.) There is no reason to doubt the truth of this assertion; and yet of such a man nothing more can now be gathered, than a few short dates of his appointment to public stations. Mr Rose says, 'it was the editor's wish, for the purpose of gratifying a laudable curiosity in respect to so eminent a man, to have stated some particulars of the life of Sir John Comyns; but after several inquiries, the following dates are all he has been able to collect.' He then introduces the dates of his appointment as a Baron of the Exchequer, and a Judge of the Common Pleas.

Of the plan of his incomparable Digest, it is difficult to speak in terms, which will do it justice, without seeming to be extravagant. Mr Hargrave (Co. Litt. 17. note 96.) says, 'the whole of Lord Chief Baron Comyns's work is equally remarkable for its great variety of matter, its compendious and accurate expression, and the excellence of its methodical distribution.' Our own opinion is, that for the purpose it proposes to accomplish, no plan could be more judicious, and no execution more

* 1 Bl. Comm. 28.

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singularly successful. It does not, like Bacon's Abridgment, affect to enter into disquisitions upon the various doctrines of the law, or to explain the reasons on which it is built. But, as the preface to the first edition states, 'the general plan of this Digest is, that the author lays down principles or positions of law, and illustrates them by instances, which he supports by authorities; and these are trenched out and divided into consequential positions or points of doctrine, illustrated and supported in the same manner. By this means, each head or title exhibits a progressive argument upon the subject, and one paragraph &c. follows another in a natural and successful order, till the subject is exhausted.' It is a curious fact, that the original text was composed in Law French, which, it is conjectured, the author chose on account of its apt expression and singular brevity.

The editors of the first edition translated the whole work into English, which was, of itself, a prodigious undertaking, and they declare, that 'the translation of the book has been carefully compared with, and corrected by the original, and, with very great labor, *has also been compared with and corrected by the several books cited.*' Who the gentlemen were, to whose patient industry and accuracy we are indebted for the publication of so choice a work, we have never been able to ascertain. They have modestly withdrawn their names from the titlepage and preface, leaving the latter to speak the extent and credit of their labors. We regret this concealment, for never did a posthumous work fall into more able hands, and never was the duty of an editor more faithfully discharged. It is this consideration, which gives to the original edition so very distinguished a value, even in our days. It was published between the years 1762 and 1767, in five folio volumes, on excellent paper, with a large type, and it stands unrivalled for the accuracy and beauty with which it came from the press. In 1776, a supplemental folio volume was added, containing a digest of the recent cases, upon the same plan as the original work.

Of the later editions, in octavo, we can say little by way of commendation. They have the gross fault of a total departure from the style, brevity, accuracy, and simplicity of Comyns, a departure, which is utterly without apology, as it exhibits, on the part of the editor, either an incapacity for the task, or an indifference to the manner of executing it. If, indeed, other authors have suffered from the posthumous publication of their unfinished works, it has been the hard fate of Comyns to have

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the symmetry and excellence of his work essentially impaired by the unmerciful interpolations of his later editors. Without any regard to the dependencies of the original text, or the sequence of principles and illustrations, they have thrust in between the different paragraphs, their new matter in a crude state, and often so little sifted, that it is a mere copy of the marginal abstracts of the later Reports. The consequence is, that passages, which are connected in sense in the original text, are often separated by these misshapen adjuncts; and, sometimes, a half page is to be run over by the reader, before he can gather up the *disjecta membra*, the scattered fragments, of the author.

In the art of bookmaking, there is scarcely anything more reprehensible, than this practice, by which an author, singularly clear, exact, and methodical, is presented in the habiliments of a slovenly commonplace man. The only rational course to be pursued, in any new edition of Comyns, would be to leave the text untouched, with all the authority belonging to it from the author's venerable character, and by supplementary volumes, drawn up in the same method, to add the new matter, which has accumulated from the litigation of later times. The good example of the editors of the Supplement, in 1776, seems, however, to have suited ill with the notions of our age; and from the rage for innovation, or from the pitiful prevalence of a bookselling interest, every successive edition, instead of being of a higher value, has constantly diminished the real utility of the work. Mr Kyd's edition has the negative merit of having done but little injury; Mr Rose's, in 1800, has interwoven a miserable patchwork; and Mr Hammond's, in 1824, has even less merit, containing the substance of his indexes to the Common Law and Chancery Reports, thrown together with a strange neglect of the symmetry of the original work. Indeed, this last edition deserves the severe rebuke of the profession, as its main object seems to be to swell the work to ten ponderous volumes. If the new matter had been properly abridged, and reduced to simple principles and brief illustrations, in the manner of Comyns, it might easily have been compressed into two supplementary volumes. But the last supplement equals the original in size, and wants every excellence that characterizes it.

We hope to live long enough to see Comyns rescued from the hands of such editors, and restored to his just value, by an edition worthy of his labors. We are confident, that the task of collecting and digesting the modern matter, however operose it

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may seem, is within the power of any one learned and diligent lawyer, and that its accomplishment would receive an ample reward from the profession. Such an achievement would lay the foundation of a most honorable fame. As the case now is, he is the most fortunate jurist, who possesses the earliest edition of the work. We have been more emphatic in our remarks on this subject, because we perceive an increasing propensity, in our own country, to load and overload new editions of professional works with notes of little intrinsic value, or at least with notes, whose value is materially diminished by the loose and unskilful manner in which they are introduced. There are, however, some exceptions to this remark, and none are entitled to more praise, than the learned comments of Mr Metcalf.

But we hasten from this digression to resume the subject to which the work, named at the head of this article, immediately conducts us. Upon the appearance of a new Abridgment of the Law, the question naturally occurs, whether it be necessary, and if necessary, what is the best plan, with a view to comprehensiveness and convenience, on which it can be formed?

In respect to England, there may perhaps be some doubt whether such a work would be of any extensive utility. A continuation of Comyns's Digest seems all that is necessary for lawyers of advanced standing; and Bacon's Abridgment, however imperfect, is perhaps sufficient, with Blackstone's Commentaries and Cruise's Digest, as a general outline for students. Indeed most of the branches of law, of great practical importance, have, in modern times, been discussed in independent treatises with much ability, and sometimes in so masterly a manner, as to exhaust the subject. What could be added to Fearne's Essay on Contingent Remainders and Executory Devises? But we think the subject admits of a very different consideration, in relation to America. The learned author of the 'General Abridgment and Digest of American Law,' has stated the reasoning in favor of it, with so much force and correctness, that we transcribe his remarks in the Introduction to his work, rather than hazard our own.

'At the close of the American revolutionary war, when the United States became an independent nation, it was very material to inquire and to know what was law in them, collectively and individually; also to examine, trace, and ascertain what were the political principles, on which their system was founded; and their *moral* character, so essential to be attended to in the support

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and administration of this system; especially in selecting from the English laws in force in a monarchy once feudal, those parts of them adopted here, and remaining in force in our republic. With such impressions, the author early turned his attention to these subjects, and in good earnest engaged in collecting materials upon them; and the more readily, as such a pursuit perfectly accorded with his professional and political employments, in which he engaged in the spring of 1782. He early found there was, in the United States, nothing like *one collected body of American law, or one collected system of American politics;* but all was found in scattered fragments. Scarcely any native American law was in print, but the colony statutes, charters, and some of the constitutions. No judicial decisions made in America, of any importance, had been published, and but very few forms. The law, enacted here, was found separately published in many states, in colony, province, and state statutes. Our law labored under another material disadvantage; most of it was found only in English books; these were written and published to be used in England, not in America; a large part of which was of no real use here.

'No measures had ever been taken to ascertain, with any accuracy, what part of English law our ancestors had adopted in the colonies or provinces. The result was, our ablest lawyers were often unable to decide what parts of the English laws were in use here; and our students at law often studied as laboriously the useless, as the useful parts of those laws. No one had attempted to embody our laws or political principles, dispersed in numerous local charters, constitutions, statutes, and also English books; many of which laws and principles were to be traced to the free parts of the British system, and even to the ancient Germans, in several cases, and in some to the Hebrews, several of whose laws some of our ancestors early adopted in America.

'In this state of things, a very important object naturally presented itself to one, who, for several years, had been in a situation highly to appreciate American principles, especially those of the American revolution; which was, a *collected body of American law*, formed with a constant reference to those principles, and to our character and situation. Forty years ago, the materials for such a work were but few, in comparison with what they now are; and then it was very useful, and even necessary, to collect them for the lawyer's private use; and to such purpose was the undertaking commenced and pursued many years. The title, "A General Abridgment and Digest of American Law, with occasional Notes and Comments," is intended to give a clear and concise view of the nature of the work. Formerly the word

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Digest, in law books, meant much more than an alphabetical arrangement of marginal notes, or of several indexes. But as this seems to be nearly its modern meaning, it applies but to an inconsiderable part of this work, the principal parts of which are described by the other words in the title, to wit, "Abridgment, Notes, and Comments." The first object has been to abridge and compress cases within narrow limits, but not so as to lose or obscure the law, decided or settled in them. Next, on proper occasions, by remarks, notes, and comments, to examine and explain a few obscure points of law, and sometimes to show the law is not, as it has been in some decisions stated to be.

The work is calculated to consist of eight royal octavo volumes, of about seven hundred pages each, to be purely American, and among other things, to supply the place generally of the English Abridgments and Digests now read, especially by students, very disadvantageously, because, in many respects, inapplicable to our practice. As every lawyer of experience must have found a common life too short, to be well read in the immense mass of law and equity, federal, state, and territorial, really applicable to our affairs, it must be, in some degree, a waste of time, especially for students and some others, to spend a large part of their time in reading English law as to tithes, forest, game prerogatives, ancient demesne, advowsons, boroughs, English copyhold estates, many parts of feudal tenures, most kinds of English courts and customs, modes of punishments and forfeitures, as to English religion, privileges, revenue, stamps, modes of conveying and assuring property, and a vast many other matters peculiar to England. In fact, near half the English and Irish law we buy at a heavy expense, and read often to the exclusion of reading our own laws, so useful, is as inapplicable to our concerns as the laws of Germany or Spain; and more so than the civil code of France, since it is adopted in substance, by Louisiana, one of our states.' Introd. pp. 3—5.

Now we entirely agree with the author in his conclusion, that an American Abridgment is indispensable both for lawyers and students, at the present day. We can hardly conceive of anything more preposterous, than to ingraft on such a work those titles of the English law, which have nothing correspondent with them in our country, to which they can be applied. It is true, that decisions in those branches of English law may sometimes furnish an illustration of a doubtful point, or an analogy to direct our researches, but these occasions must be of rare occurrence; and the same inducements might be as well urged in favor of the incorporation of the law of other foreign

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countries. Abridgments can embrace only those portions of law, which are of most frequent and general use. English sources will always be open to the curious, who desire to explore the more obscure doctrines; and the practising lawyer must, in extraordinary cases, task his diligence to master what is unknown, and to bring to light what is buried in dark and remote antiquity.

In regard to the plan most proper for an American Abridgment, various opinions will probably be entertained by the profession. It is not, indeed, easy to say what plan would, abstractedly speaking, be best. Much must depend upon the extent and object of the work; and even here is sufficient room for diversity of judgment, without in the slightest degree indulging in dogmatism. Whoever selects, must omit something; and what is proper to be omitted, and what to be retained, is, of course, a matter for the exercise of much delicate discretion. If the object of the author be to present to the learned in the profession a mere dry abstract of principles, with cases to illustrate them, a more perfect model than Comyns's Digest can scarcely be devised; and an order, if not strictly alphabetical, at least nearly approaching to it, will be naturally resorted to. If, on the other hand, he wishes to expound the reasons of the law, or to comment on cases with a view to try their accuracy, and to deal with all parts of the same general subject, in the mode of dissertation, he will bring together all the incidental topics; and then, of course, to some extent, he must desert an alphabetical arrangement. Again, if his object be to present matter of direct and positive authority, only to assist experienced advocates in their consultations, he may spare many explanations, which are indispensable for students. If, on the other hand, his main object be to instruct students, and give collateral aids to the profession at large, he will begin with the easier branches of the law, and gradually open upon those, which require more thought, sagacity, and experience, He will, for instance, begin with the law of contracts, rather than with the intricate distinctions of real estates. He will initiate the student in matters of general observation and practice, before he deals with the more recondite portions of jurisprudence. He will embody, in some degree, the general principles with the remedies which accompany a violation of them; so that the student may perceive, that he is to practise at the very outset, whatever he is taught.

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It is manifest, that under such circumstances, the whole plan and method of a work must essentially deviate from an alphabetical order; and that materials must often be separated, where, upon another plan, they would be joined, and joined where they would otherwise stand at great distances. The only rule, then, that can be laid down in cases of this nature, is to judge of the work from the design of the author, or, as Pope expresses it,

> In every work regard the writer's end,
> Since none can compass more than they intend.

Mr Dane, in his Introduction, has given, very much at large, the plan and objects of his work. Its objects may be summarily stated to be, to frame an Abridgment 'to be useful to American lawyers, especially to students, and those of the profession, who cannot possess many books;' 'to make our American charters and constitutions, statutes and adjudged cases, the groundwork of each subject, and therewith to incorporate that portion of the English law, recognised in the United States, beginning with Magna Charta, and the first charters and statutes in our colonies;' 'to examine such cases, as are binding on all parts of the Union, and to cite some of the most important *verbatim*, and abridge the others;' to include as much of the local law of the different states as is practicable; and to incorporate manuscript reports of adjudications, not in print.

Thus far as to the objects of the work. It appears to us, that these objects are sufficiently comprehensive, and that the principle of selection, which pervades the whole, is highly creditable to the judgment of the learned author. In regard to one point only, will there probably be much difference of opinion with the profession; and that is, whether local law ought to find a place in the work; and if it ought, how far the selection of the local law of Massachusetts, as a basis, is judicious. On this point let Mr Dane speak for himself, and we think no one will deny, that his suggestions are of very great weight. In enumerating the objects of the work, he says, one is

'To examine the charters, constitutions, and statutes of the several colonies and states, of a public nature, and the judicial decisions made in the highest courts in them, and published, so far as to acquire correct ideas of such state law; but so voluminous is it, and so much of it merely local, in small portions of the nation, that it has been deemed not practicable or useful to include large portions of it in this work, except in regard to a few

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of the states; and it has been considered, that the judges and lawyers of any state best understand its local laws; and it will be found, that the courts in one state have not often noticed the laws and decisions in other states.

'This being the case in regard to state law, it was found best to select the state law of some one state, to be included much at large in this work. Accordingly, the laws of Massachusetts, in substance including Maine, have been selected for the purpose, and for the following reasons. First, These laws are in fact the laws of two large states. Secondly, With these the author has long been well acquainted. Thirdly, As the other New England states were at first peopled from Massachusetts, her laws were the root of theirs. Fourthly, Her laws as to the rights of persons, property, &c. were made the root or germ of nearly all our territorial law east of the Mississippi, by being made the material parts of the ordinance of Congress, passed July thirteenth, 1787, for the government of the United States territories northwest of the Ohio, and from time to time extended to their other territories, as will appear on examining the ordinance itself. Fifthly, Much the largest part of the judicial decisions made in Massachusetts (and Maine), have been made on those principles of law, which are common to all the states, except Louisiana. Sixthly, Many of the statutes of Massachusetts having been copied or formed in substance from English statutes; and many others of our colonies and states having done the same, her statutes in these respects are substantially theirs; for instance, Massachusetts, Virginia, &c. nearly copied their statutes of limitations from the statutes of limitations of the 32d Henry VIII. ch. 2. and hence, so far, the statutes of one are those of all.

'However, there is embraced in this work much of the local law of the other states in the Union in different ways, especially of New York, Virginia, and Kentucky. The state of Louisiana having, by statute, adopted the new French civil code, with some variations, and made it of course a part of our American system, many parts of this code have been taken into this work. In fact, on a careful examination, it will be found, that more than four fifths of the decisions made in Massachusetts, New York, and Virginia, stated in this work, have been made on principles and authorities common to twentythree states, and so practised on in all. Though in the statutes of the several states there is a sameness in principle, yet there is a vast variety in words and detail, when not formed from one source, as above; but not a tenth part of the law in a state is found in its statute books; owing to this variety, the statutes of each state must be used somewhat at large, in order to practise on them safely.' pp. 5, 6.

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We would refer the reader to the fourteenth page of the introduction, for a more full exposition of the author's reasons, for not inserting, in his work, more of the local law of the several states. These reasons are certainly not without considerable weight. Besides, such an enlargement of the plan of the work would have occasioned an increase of its cost, without conferring an equal value upon the work; for it can hardly be supposed, that the profession, generally, would find much local law of so many states useful to them.

We are next to consider the plan of the work. And here again we quote the words of the author.

'It has been a part of the plan, in considering each subject of importance, first to give a general view of it, under the terms, *general principles*, illustrated, usually, by rules and cases; then to enter on particulars on the same subject; believing, that in this way, the parts of a subject are best understood, and their analogies perceived, especially by students. Having treated a subject or an important case in its parts, it has been found useful, if not necessary, to make in some cases some remarks, comments, or notes, to explain, not only for the benefit of those who most need explanation, but to caution against admitting judicial decisions as authorities, where the remote principle, on which they are made, is not admitted.

'It has been another object, to treat a party's right and remedy in connexion; as, in the same chapter or article in numerous cases and wherever his right and title to property, to things in action, to damages or redress, are investigated by his counsel, with an immediate view to the suit or remedy. Hence much of the law relating to such rights and titles is found under the proper action; as account, assumpsit, case, covenant, debt, ejectment, &c; and when such titles and rights have been of a nature to come under one or another kind of action, the prevailing fitness has been most regarded. The reasons for adopting this course being many, they can be seen but by the work itself.

'Original authorities have always been preferred, principally relied on and resorted to. Digests and abridgments have been relied on only when found correct, or when deemed to be so, by reason of their agreement with known and settled law in other cases; but Cruise, Comyns, Bacon, and other digests and abridgments, have been extensively cited or referred to in the margin, &c. as directing to many good authorities, and as corroborative. Not much reliance has been had on *nisi prius* cases; nor much on divided opinions.

'It has been a rule to abridge, considerably at length, certain

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leading cases; as Gelston and Hoyt, Bent and Baker, Freeman and Pasley, Liter and Green, &c. because it has been considered, that it is of vast importance, that such cases be correctly understood; to be so, the facts, the points, and decisions must be correctly stated; other cases will appear to be so stated, when not so in fact, because it has been a rule not to divide a case so often as is usually done; for instance, Gelston and Hoyt; this case is best understood when the twenty or more material points decided in it are examined together; not when, by an abridger, scattered under twenty or more different heads.

'It has been another object to form a general Abridgment and Digest of American Law, calculated to afford a general knowledge of it, and to lead to a more diligent study of it; hence the parts of it are arranged to be studied critically, in connexion with the authorities referred to, as each one may have time and abilities, and most occasion for one division after another; and so to form it to receive additions, without materially disturbing the order of it. For to make such a work permanently useful, law must be added, as it shall come into existence, and the plan be so formed, as conveniently to receive it. And it is proper, that such a work have in it a material portion of American law on every subject, on which questions in law or equity may arise.

'It may be understood, that as Massachusetts statutes, state and colonial, and judicial decisions, occupy their several places in different parts of the work, in relation to Federal law, a lawyer in any other state may, if he choose, substitute the statutes and such decisions of his own state in the stead and places of those of Massachusetts, when he shall use this work. By Federal law is meant the Federal constitution, acts of the Federal legislature, and of the Federal executive, and judicial decisions thereon; and in a broader sense is meant by Federal law, any law that pervades the whole Federal territory, whether of English or American origin.' Introd. pp. 7, 8.

Now it seems to us, that with reference to the leading objects of the work, nothing could be more judicious, than to give a view of the general principles of each branch of the law, and to illustrate them with cases, and then to proceed to the more minute and subordinate particulars. The remarks and comments, which accompany the leading doctrines and cases, cannot fail to be useful to all the profession, for they are the result of a half century's steady devotion to the law, by one whose diligence has never been weary, whose caution has been disciplined by very patient investigations, and whose learning has been matured by very extensive studies.

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The plan has several peculiarities; but the principal distinction between this and other abridgments is, that in many instances it treats the rights and remedies of parties in the same connexion, and consequently introduces, in no inconsiderable degree, in the discussions of remedies, the most important rules of property. In this respect it pursues a method, not unlike that of Mr Espinasse in his valuable Digest of the Law of Actions at Nisi Prius.

That there are many advantages in this system of arrangement, especially for students, will be denied by few; that it has some disadvantages ought not to be concealed. One advantage is, that it keeps up in the student's mind a close affinity between the right and remedy, and compels him to make a practical application of his knowledge as he advances in his studies. On the other hand, one disadvantage is, that it sometimes separates into distinct heads, matters of the same nature, which require different remedies in different stages of title, and leads to extensive researches into collateral questions, which do not strictly touch the remedy. Whichever way we look, there is some ground on which the advocates of different systems may rest plausible arguments. The system, however, adopted by Mr Dane, is not a rash innovation; and, in our judgment, has much in it entitled to commendation. If it does not unite the whole profession in its favour, it will always count among its advocates many enlightened jurists. The principal disadvantage, in a practical view, to which this method of arranging subjects is liable, is, that it is not of so easy reference in the hurry of consultation. But in Mr Dane's work, this disadvantage is entirely overcome by a general Index to the whole work, occupying, with the names of cases, a volume. This index, we venture to pronounce, absolutely unrivalled in fulness and accuracy, bringing within the reach of the most ordinary diligence, all the leading positions and doctrines of this extensive compilation.

As to the execution of the plan, the nature of which we have endeavoured to explain in a succinct manner, it is difficult to give any but a very general sketch. It is obviously impracticable to go into the details of a work, extending through eight octavo volumes, with a crowded type and margin, and embracing nearly six thousand pages. We have no room to indulge in criticisms on particular passages. Even to examine the divisions and subdivisions of a single title, would be a most exhausting process, and occupy more pages, than belong to the review of

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any single work. In general, it may be said, that the learned author has executed his task with becoming diligence and ability. He has bestowed forty years of a most studious life in the labor, and has here given the results of all his juridical reading, in a compendious and accurate form. His comments exhibit various learning and close reflection, and his illustrations cannot fail to assist such, as seek for aid in those obscurer parts of the law, which perplex by their intricacy and equivocal direction. We choose rather to subjoin extracts exhibiting the actual execution of the work, from which the reader will be able to form a fair judgment, than, by mere general expressions of approbation, to hazard in any respect the just reputation of the author.

Upon one or two topics, however, we wish to be indulged in saying a few words, because they give a distinguishing value to this Abridgment.

In the first place, it contains a full view of the doctrines, which belong to subjects principally within the cognizance of the Federal courts. Such are matters of admiralty jurisdiction, and revenue seizures; the law of prize, the rights and duties of neutral nations, and the claims of foreign sovereignties to immunities in our courts, and other topics connected with the administration of public law; the equity system administered in the courts of the United States, in some respects necessarily varying from that constituting a part of the local law of the states; and lastly, this local law itself, so far as in these courts it regulates the rights and remedies of parties, and is brought into discussion in cases between citizens of different states. The complicated relations of the states with each other, make the administration of this branch of jurisprudence (which may not unfitly be denominated *international private law*) a task of no inconsiderable delicacy and difficulty. Above all, it embraces the discussions of those questions of constitutional law, which have on various occasions engaged the earnest attention of the different states in the Union, and which have been so ably argued at the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States.

In the next place, it devotes a whole chapter to the collection and arrangement of the laws of the several states, respecting titles to real estate, by grant, by devise, and by descent and distribution. This, of course, must bring together a very important mass of matters, not easily found in any single private or public library, and furnish ample means not only for professional in-

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struction, but for the exercise of legislative discretion. The harmonies and discrepances of the different systems are thus presented in a single view; and the best opportunity afforded of correcting errors, and introducing gradually homogeneous and consistent regulations on these vital interests of the Union.

Moreover, it embraces a large collection of decisions, many of which have never before appeared in print, and are valuable from their general applicability as well as the fidelity with which they are reported. Before the publication of regular reports in our country, many questions of the highest moment were litigated and decided in our courts, which form rules of property; and it is no inconsiderable present to the profession to embody these, in an authentic form, as well as to add to some of the cases now in print, reports more full, exact, and satisfactory.

Again, large extracts are introduced from the civil, the French, and other foreign law. The utility of this part of the work cannot escape the observation of the profession. The civil law, modified by French and Spanish ordinances and usages, constitutes the basis of the law of Louisiana and the territory of the Floridas. These portions of the Union are daily becoming more and more interesting, in a commercial view, to all the states. The law, which there regulates civil and commercial rights and remedies, is of great practical importance to emigrants, to merchants, and to relatives residing in distant regions. Unlike the other states, in which a common jurisprudence, that of the common law prevails, these territories are perpetually presenting unsuspected differences not only in rights, but in the administration of remedies, which require to be accurately known, in order to avoid embarrassing and often fatal mistakes. Lawyers, therefore, in every part of the Union, will gladly accept any means of assisting their inquiries on these subjects, and will find ready answers to many questions. Fortunately for Louisiana, no inconsiderable portion of her civil jurisprudence has been reduced into a systematic code, whose basis is that admirable performance, the Napoleon Code. Mr Livingston is now executing, under her patronage, a Digest of her Criminal Jurisprudence; and from the portions, which we have been permitted to inspect, we have no difficulty in saying, that it is a work of singular acuteness and philosophical precision, and in the highest degree creditable to his genius and industry. Such works have been occasionally disparaged by the exclusive admirers of the common law, and still more so by the overheated zeal and

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extravagance of some of the advocates of codes; but we feel a confidence, that they are so useful and convenient, that they will, at no distant period, attract the attention of the legislatures of other states, and gradually lead to great improvements in the science of legislation, as well as in the actual administration of the law.

But it is not in this view alone, that the civil and foreign law have claims upon those, whose province it is to cultivate the study of the common law. The civil law itself is an inexhaustible treasury of general principles, solid distinctions, and just doctrines, applicable to the concerns of a busy commercial age, and especially to every species of commercial contracts. The common law has indeed appropriated to itself, without a fair acknowledgment, many principles of this admired jurisprudence. Our law of contracts rests on this basis, and has become equitable only so far as it has ceased to be feudal, and liberal so far as it has been drawn from Roman fountains. The splendid panegyric of Gibbon, in the fortyfourth chapter of his Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, is not a mere vainglorious boast, but is supported by facts. 'The vain titles of the victories of Justinian,' says the historian, 'are crumbled into dust; but the name of the legislator is inscribed on a fair and everlasting monument. Under his reign, and by his care, the civil jurisprudence was digested in the immortal works of the Code, the Pandects, and the Institutes; the public reason of the Romans has been silently or studiously transfused into the domestic institutions of Europe, and the laws of Justinian still command the respect or obedience of independent nations.' Dr Brown, a very competent judge, in one of the notes to his Brief Sketch of the Civil Law, says, 'I scarcely ever yet have met with a point, not connected with the feudal law, in which, if English books did not satisfy the doubt, I have failed to find its resolution in the civil law.' Can it then be doubted, that an incorporation of such of the civil law principles, as are illustrative of the common law, into an Abridgment, is of great value to students, and especially to those, who wish to acquire philosophical views of jurisprudence, and aspire to something beyond the reach of an ordinary attorney? The author well remarks, that

'A complete system of law and equity, best calculated to preserve the power of the magistrate and the rights of the people, is the last thing men attain to in society. Peter the Great soon understood everything in the civilized parts of Europe, but the

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laws; and because he could not understand them, he never ceased to prefer the despotism of Turkey, "where the judges are not restrained by any methods, forms, or laws." Ancient Greece, though eminent in other sciences, never had such a system. The reason is seen in the almost infinite variety, extent, and combination of ideas, founded in nature, experience, and cultivated morality, so essential in forming and completing such a system. It is very clear, that a great republic, in which there is room for talents; in which thoughts and actions are not restrained by religious or political despotism; in which education is encouraged, and moral character is esteemed; in which the law rules, and not the sword; in which each one asserts his rights by law, and not by force; and in which there is representation, jury trial, and a free press, is the natural field of law and equity; but to produce these in perfection, there must be a *national* character. The rules of law and equity, in important matters, must be uniform, and pervade the whole nation.' Introd. pp. 14, 15.

We have adverted to the impracticability of giving, within the ordinary compass of a review, an analysis of this extensive and various work, and therefore select a few extracts from it as examples of the manner and style of the author, to give our numerous professional readers an opportunity to form a correct estimate of the infinite labor, patient perseverance, and extensive learning of the author. He has taken frequent occasion, in the course of the work, to introduce critical and concise commentaries, on abstract points of law, and elaborate discussions of questions, that have often perplexed and divided the minds of the bar and the bench. These are usually termed *notes* and *comments*, generally brief, but when it is necessary, extended and elaborate.

The first example of these discussions we find in volume first, chapter ninth, article twentysecond, in eighteen sections, on the questions, often arising and often contested in practice, *When does an express promise exclude an implied one?* and *When may the plaintiff recover on the common counts?* In these sections the author cites nearly a hundred select authorities. He observes, that cases, in which these questions arise, are very numerous, and that he should notice as many of them as might be proper, to illustrate the general principles, on which this class of cases is decided. The leading principle is laid down by Buller J. who observed, 'The law raises an implied promise because there is no security given by the party; but if the party chooses to take security, there is no occasion for the law to

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raise a promise; promises *in law* only exist, where there are no express stipulations between the parties.' We regret, that our limits do not allow us to insert here the very able discussion of this subject by the author.

The discussion of another disputed point, is found in chapter twentyfourth, article fourth, in twentyfive sections; it arises on the question, *Is a* chose in action *assignable in its nature at common law*, or *when there is no statute on the subject?* to which we refer, as well worthy of the attention of our legal readers.

The author in this discussion clearly shows, that the doctrine in relation to negotiable contracts is different in our several state jurisdictions.

His summary views of a few leading cases, in several important branches of the law and equity, are the condensed result of a critical and minute examination. In volume sixth, chapter one hundred and ninetythird, he has given, in fortyfive articles, a *synopsis* of pleadings. The nature and object of this *synopsis*, or summary of pleadings, is very concisely and well described, in the seventeenth division of his Introduction. This *synopsis*, at large, best explains itself, and, perhaps better than any other plan, will enable the lawyer, and especially the student, to see at once the extent and the various bearings of the several parts of pleadings on each other. On this and other wide spread branches of the law, when many readers may be confused, and in a degree lost in numerous volumes of minute matters and distinctions, such views and results, well made, may be extremely useful; but they must be well made, by one thoroughly master of the subjects, who has long been in the practice of abridging, of taking such views, and of forming such results.

Volume fourth, chapter one hundred and fourteenth, article thirtyfirst, contains a summary view of select authorities, on the subject of executory estates. This, too, appears to be the result of an extensive examination made in relation to all kinds of contingent and executory estates, created by way of uses or trusts, by wills, by common conveyances, or otherwise, accompanied with his own views respecting such estates.

A summary view of the most material points of difference between law and equity, is illustrated and supported by many select authorities, in chapter first, article seventh, sections from the thirtythird to the fortyfourth, and is apparently the result of a minute examination of those differences; from which view he draws the following conclusion, which appears in his fiftyfirst section.

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'This preliminary sketch of principles and cases in equity, has been introduced since 1801, when equity decisions in America were of but little importance, which since have vastly increased. Such principles and cases, therefore, will be considered in detail, in a considerable degree, in several parts of this work relating to contracts and proceedings in chancery. Except in chapters two hundred and twentyfifth and two hundred and twentysixth, especially appropriated to them, they will be found in chapters also embracing matters in law, in several instances. Law and equity in the United States, are in no small degree mingled together, often in the same cause; except in two or three states, in the same volumes; and in several states, especially in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, &c. equity is frequently administered by law courts and jurors. And in New York, now, equity powers may be by the legislature vested in the circuit judges, in eight circuits, and in the county courts, or such other subordinate courts as the legislature may direct, subject to the appellate jurisdiction of the Chancellor. So in the highest and lowest courts in Virginia, law and equity powers seem to be blended in the same hands. In this work the object has been, and will be, to adopt the English system of equity as far, and as far only, as it has been adopted by the highest authorities in our own country; a system, highly valuable when we separated (July 4th, 1776), and, for some years after, but which now subjects a vast proportion of English property to almost total uncertainty, and lately induced one of the eminent men of England to observe, "It is a disgrace to the nation." This uncertainty is owing to several causes, but mainly to a vast number of volumes, published since our separation, containing numerous decisions on equity principles, made by different men, repeatedly variant, and often contradictory. Still worse, these volumes, many of them the productions of inferior lawyers, are replete with *obiter opinions*, *dictums*, *seems soes*, *leanings*, inclinings, &c. not only of high judicial officers, but also of inferior ones.

'Though this trash (so the sound law of the land views it), in fact, is no rule of property or conduct, yet it has a great influence; ignorant and indolent judges catch at it; and counsel, engaged in bad causes, seize on it, and, with much ingenuity, make a great deal of it; a similar pernicious effect have the hasty *nisi prius* notions, of late years, published by wholesale. It requires not the spirit of prophecy to foresee, that, in no very long period, the rules of property must become as uncertain, in such a state of things, as in the most despotic governments. If the minute and peculiar features of each new case must be allowed to produce new rules of property, not known in law, and against law,

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where is such an equity system to end? It is also absurd to publish thousands of mere dictums, and leanings, &c. when there are published more legal decisions of high and full courts, than any man can read to good purpose. As to equity cases, they have become almost infinitely numerous, and but a small part of them are of much value or use in the United States; hence they are in this work very briefly stated, except Federal cases in chapter two hundred and twentyfifth. But references to equity cases are very numerous, so that, when one shall have occasion to use or study them, he will find them largely referred to; and if each equity case be decided on the minute and peculiar circumstances of it, equity cases must increase a vast deal more than law cases, and when each case is so decided, it can be of but little use in other cases; cases in law, and especially in equity, varying as human faces vary.' Vol. i. pp. 107, 108.

In chapter two hundred and twentyfifth, the author takes an historical view of equity in the American colonies, and observes that there was no uniformity in it.

'We must, therefore, look in vain for a uniform system in our numerous states.' 'But in the constitution of the United States, we have laid a solid foundation for such a system, which well provides for carrying into effect the judicial powers of the Union, in federal cases, as well on principles of equity as principles of law. The equity mentioned in that constitution, is undoubtedly some uniform general code of equity; and it is equally certain, we can find this code nowhere but in England, or in the English decisions in equity, we have in English books in this country. The practice in the Supreme Court of the United States, in which alone such a uniform plan can grow up in our country, is full confirmation of this opinion; for it is in those books alone it looks for authorities; at most the exceptions are so few as not to deserve attention.' 'In that court it will slowly grow up to a high state of perfection.' 'It is true, that court consists of seven judges, and some think equity must be administered by a single judge; but this idea has no foundation in nature or experience. Not in nature, for a correct moral conscience, or sense of right and wrong, ever has been, is, and will be, as uniform and steady in its office and trust, as instinct or attraction. Were it not so, there would be a great defect in the noblest part of the Deity's works. Not in experience, for examine the equitable decisions, depending on the moral perceptions of the mind, made by the Hindoo judge, four thousand years ago, and the other side of the globe; so of the Roman judge in the days of Cicero or Justinian, in another quarter of the world; and we find them made in a manner, in

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which the moral and correct American judge now fully acquiesces. So experience in our own country teaches the same thing.

'The people of the United States, when they formed that national constitution, never once attempted to place these federal powers in equity, in a single judge, in the dernier resort; but placed them in a Supreme Court, never expected to consist of fewer than five judges. Experience further teaches, that the judges of this court have been as often unanimous in their decisions in equity, as in their decisions in law.' 'Equity is necessarily a system of rule and discretion. Discretion, as it depends on the particular circumstances of each case; there can be no settled rule without destroying equity itself, and reducing it to positive law. On the other hand, it is going too far, to have equity without rule. This may destroy all law, and leave the decision of every case solely in the breast of the judge.' Vol. VII. pp. 516, 517.

His compendium of the rules of evidence, in volume third, chapter eightieth, is plain and concise, and embraces the general principles of this great branch of the law.

The principles of law and equity, in relation to *baron* and *feme*, are expounded by the author, with great ability and acuteness, in chapter nineteenth; and in volume fifth, chapter one hundred and seventyfifth, article second, are stated the cases in which they must be joined or not, in suits by or against them.

In the course of the work, the reader will find many brief summaries, like those just referred to, in which the rule of law is clearly and concisely stated, with brief expositions of the reasons of the law; these will be of great value to the profession in the hurry and bustle of practice, when they are often compelled to decide, before they have had leisure to examine many books.

In various parts of the work, the author has occasion to give his views of the true construction of *constitutional* and *statute law*; his commentaries on these are the fruits of professional discipline, familiar acquaintance with our history, and sound judgment. We select, as an example, chapter fortyeighth, in which he gives his construction of the article in the Bill of Rights, prefixed to the constitution of Massachusetts, called the third article, and of the act of March fourth, 1800, on the same subject.

'By this article is established; 1st. That all religious taxes must be "for the institution of the public worship of God, and for the support and maintenance of *public Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality;*" nor has the legislature power, by this article, to enjoin provisions, or means, for the support of any other description; nor to support these, where provision is *volun-*

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tarily made; nor to enjoin attendance on any other, nor on these, only where the party can *conscientiously* and *conveniently* attend; and *each religious society* has the sole right to elect their public teacher, and to contract with him.' Vol. II. pp. 329, 330.

The author restricts the enforcing power of the legislature to *Protestants*, and contends, that, according to the invariable meaning of this article, none but *public Protestant teachers* are to receive legislative support. This he considers *sectarian.*

In section fifth, it is stated, 'that all monies assessed and paid by any one, "for the support of public worship, and of the public teachers aforesaid," (that is, said public Protestant teachers), shall, if he require it, be applied to support the public teacher of his own denomination; so that the party's right to carry his tax *from the parish or precinct in which it is raised*, exists only among different sects. If a teacher be not Protestant and public, or if he neglect to teach either piety, religion, or morality, it is a question, whether he be within the provision. If so, in every case, where a minister, calling himself of a different denomination, brings *assumpsit* for monies had and received, to recover monies raised in another parish, the question may be raised if he be, 1st, *A public Protestant teacher?* 2dly, If he be such a teacher of *piety*, *religion*, and *morality?* And 3dly, If of a *different denomination* from the parish, in which such monies are assessed and raised? If he fails in any of these points, can he recover? Thence can a *Jewish*, *Hindoo*, *Mahometan*, or Catholic teacher recover? It has been decided, that none but Protestant teachers can.' p. 330.

In the sixth section, he notices the act of March fourth, 1800, requiring each parish, if able, to 'be constantly provided with a *public Protestant teacher* of *piety*, *religion*, and *morality*,' and 'that any contract made by any town, parish,' &c. 'with any such public teacher,' chosen by it, shall be binding; and after noticing its conformity with the article in the bill of rights, so far as it applies only to such as are *Protestant* teachers, he observes,

'In the latter part of this act, provision is made, that a man's tax, assessed in an *incorporated* religious society, may, at his request, "be applied to the support of the public teacher of his own religious sect," where he *usually attends*, and where he *belongs.* This provision is, perhaps, broader than the constitution; for this provision does not require the public teacher, who is to receive the man's tax, to be a Protestant, or to be a teacher of *piety*, *religion*, and *morality;* but it is enough, to satisfy this provision, that the

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man, paying the tax, be of a *different* denomination, and pay it to *the teacher* of *his* sect. Now a Jew may be taxed in a *Congregational* parish, and within the words of the act, be, at the time of voting or raising the tax, of a different sect from such parish; may belong to a Jewish society, and usually attend public worship there, and prove this by a formal certificate from his society. If he do this, he may, on this act, apply his tax, or have it applied to his Jewish public teacher. This is liberal, and on the true principles of *toleration;* but it may be empowering individuals to apply their taxes assessed for the support of religion, and to the support of religious teachers, in a way not contemplated in the constitution; and, therefore, if a Jew be taxed in a Protestant parish, and its committee refuse an order, for paying his tax over to his Jewish teacher, it is a question, if that teacher can, in *assumpsit*, or any other action, recover it.' p. 331.

After examining the several views, presented in the discussion of these constitutional and statute provisions, he concludes by observing in section eighth, that

'The people, in forming the constitution, meant to support, *by law and taxes, public Protestant teaching of piety, religion, and morality;* and to leave all other religions to be supported by voluntary donations, or contracts of individuals, and not that the legislature should lay and enforce any taxes, to support these other religions, directly or indirectly, though the tax should enforce *voluntary contracts* in regard to them.' p. 333.

In chapter one hundred and first, article fifth, he gives the rules of construction of covenants, contracts, wills, &c. on general principles of law. His construction, in each case, is concise, plain, and supported by authorities. This part of the work is not found in any other, at one view, and must be very useful, as it is a collection of the best authorities, which can be consulted on the construction of written instruments. In a few pages, there is presented to the reader the substance of what is scattered over several hundered pages of the work, in the different articles, where the construction of wills, contracts, &c. was considered.

The judgment and skill of the author are conspicuous through the work, in his *manner of abridging* cases; this is an art difficult to be acquired, and essential to the successful execution of the task he had undertaken. Habitual practice, long experience, untiring patience, sagacity, and discrimination, are qualifications, combined in few individuals, and all these are necessary.

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To condense and compress into a small compass, cases minutely and diffusely reported in the modern fashion, to reject redundances, retrench *verbiage*, and immaterial circumstances, and, at the same time, to perceive and preserve all the cardinal points, the material facts, and the unbroken course of argument, is a rare and difficult art. This work contains many examples of the experience and skill of the author, in executing this part of his duty. A few only, among the thousands of cases abridged, can be noticed.

Windham v. Chetwynd, reported in 1 Burr. 414, takes up seventeen pages in the reporter's volume. The abridgment of it, which the author has given in chapter one hundred and twentyseventh, reduces it more than nine tenths.

'This case contains all the most important law on this head [credibility of a witness to a will or devise]. It was decided, on a special verdict, finding that the testator had charged the residue of his real and personal estate, with payments of his debts and legacies, and that A, B, and C were witnesses to the will; and that, at the time they attested it, and at the time of his death, they were creditors to the testator in account, but were paid off, before they were examined to prove the will. After two arguments, the court decided, that they were good and credible witnesses, at the time of the attestation. Hence this was a good will of lands within the statute of fraud, 29 Ch. II. But Lord Mansfield and the court decided as above, and said, the said statute is silent as to the capacities of witnesses; "*credible*" presupposes the evidence given, and so is never used as synonymous to "*competent.*" After the competence of a witness is allowed, *the consideration of the credibility arises, and not before.* The word *credible*, in a statute, can mean no more, than that the credibility of the witness is to be weighed; but this credibility is no part of the necessary form, in the attestation of wills, and said, the word *credible*, in the statute, was probably used as a *word of course*, and misapplied; that, at the time this act was passed, there was no law, whereon a question could arise to the competency of a witness, at the time of knowing the fact he came to testify, but only where he was competent or credible at the time of the examination. Whether a witness to a will was competent or credible, at the time of examination, cannot be a question; for he may die, or become interested before that time. What objections, then, to a witness are good or not, must be left to the judges, on the circumstances of the case. 1st. On the ground of the case. 2dly. On the authorities. First, on the ground of the case; the power of devising ought to be favoured;

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it is the natural consequence of property; was a right before the conquest, and it ceased in the time of Henry II. on the introduction of the feudal system, soon revived in the form of declarations to uses. The statute of uses accidentally checked this, and then the statute of wills was made. The 29th Ch. II. did not mean to restrain devises of lands; they had become more reasonable, than before the conquest, or among the Greeks and Romans; the statute was intended only to guard against fraud; but perhaps it has overturned more fair wills, than it has prevented fraudulent ones. "Suppose the subscribing witnesses honest, how little do they know; they do not know the contents, they need not be together, they need not see the testator sign (if he acknowledge his hand, it is sufficient); they need not know it is a will (if he deliver it as a deed, it is sufficient)." Judges then must lean against objections to the formality. He is a witness if, at the time of his examination, his testimony does not tend to support his title, and to enable him to hold or recover an interest under it. So, if he have a great or greater interest, that the will be set aside; a release, payment, or a tender makes him a witness. So, if his interest, at the testator's death, cannot take effect. And the same, as to a legacy, or devise. Remote interest, that may disqualify in other cases, does not in the case of a will; a devise to the poor of the parish does not disqualify the parishioners from being witnesses; this they cannot release. The objections of interest proceed on the idea of a too great bias of the mind of the witness, but may be taken off by showing the witness has a great or greater interest the other way, or, that he has given it up. "The presumption of bias arises at the time of the subscription." But it may be answered by showing the witness was heir at law, or that the devise is void, or that he has renounced it; and secondly, "In many cases, a presumption of a bias, from a legacy, at the time of the subscribing, has been allowed to be taken off by a release." Vol. iv. pp. 563—565.

The important case of Zouch v. Parsons, reported in fifteen pages, 3 Burr. is given by the author in two pages, with all the material facts, points made by the counsel, and the substance of Lord Mansfield's able opinion.

Various other leading cases are abridged, with equal clearness and conciseness. We would refer to the important cases of Pasley & al. v. Freeman, in volume second, chapter sixtysecond; Marshall v. Fisk, in volume fourth, chapter one hundred and fourth; Gelston and Hoyt, volume seventh, chapter two hundred and twentyfourth; and the case of Judge Chase, impeached before Congress, which was reported in an octavo volume.

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but is abridged by the author, in thirtyfour pages, in volume seventh, chapter two hundred and twentysecond. In each abridged case, are preserved the material facts, the substance of the pleadings, the arguments of the counsel, and the opinions of the court, often with the addition of the author's comments.

The author has, in a similar abridged form, reported several hundred cases, which were decided in our highest tribunals, during his extensive practice. These can be found in no other work. We can notice only a few of them.

'Ingalls v. Corlis. (Massachusetts, Essex, November, 1800.) This was an action of covenant broken in a deed, by which Corlis conveyed to Ingalls in 1788, a lot of land No. 3, in the sixth range of lots in Concord, or Guns Thwaite in New Hampshire; the consideration acknowledged was three hundred dollars, and the defendant's covenant was to warrant and defend the said lot to Ingalls, in fee, against the lawful claims of all persons; and that the same lot was free of all incumbrances whatever. August sixth, 1763, Benning Wentworth, Governor of New Hampshire, being authorized by the king to sell lands, granted the township of Concord, including this lot, to the Concord proprietors, on certain conditions of settlement, and there was no evidence these were performed.

'October, 1768, John Wentworth, the succeeding governor of New Hampshire, also authorized by the king to grant and convey lands, granted the same township to the Guns Thwaite proprietors, under whom Corlis, by several intermediate conveyances, claimed and held this lot. Ingalls, after he purchased it, settled upon it, under the Concord proprietors, to whom so granted in 1763, and they entered and took possession of the township, taxed the lots, and he suffered this lot to be bid off for taxes; but there was no evidence they evicted him by suit, nor that he had lost his land.

'The court held, first, That the second grant, of 1768, could not be given in evidence, to support Corlis's title, for though that of 1763 was on condition, and it might be the grantees had not performed; yet the king or his governor could make no other grant of the same land, in derogation of the first grant, till he had, by some legal process, repossessed himself of the land for a breach of condition; that this was common law, and law in all the colonies; therefore, the grant of 1768 was rejected.

'The other point decided, was, as to damages, two hundred dollars, the sum proved to have been actually paid as the consideration, and interest. *But this point has been much better* settled since. In this case, it may be observed, the land lay in

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New Hampshire, and the action was in Massachusetts; so was the case of Marston v. Hobbs, [2 Mass. Rep. 433, and noticed by the author, in section third, article eighth, of the same chapter.] 2dly. That the king's grants on condition remained good, till he vacated them by some legal process. 3dly. That the plaintiff recovered in covenant broken, on its appearing the defendant had no title to the land, and on the former proprietors' entering, and keeping up their claim, though they had never established their title by any action, and on a proper process it might perhaps be found, they had none. 4thly. And though the plaintiff had not been actually evicted, or lost his land recovered, it does not appear, in this case, which covenant in the deed the court considered as broken, the covenants of seizin and of right were not mentioned, if in the deed the covenant of warranty strictly was not broken; as the plaintiff had not been, in fact, evicted. The Concord title, then, of 1763, viewed as better than the title of 1768, under which the plaintiff bought and paid his money, he sued to recover back, was probably viewed as an incumbrance to the amount of the value of the land, at the time the defendant sold to the plaintiff; and that the consideration, actually paid, was, as between the parties, the measure of the value.' Vol. IV. pp. 348, 349.

We may observe here, that, as extensive tracts of land in the colonies were conditionally granted by the king, and, in many instances, the conditions were never performed, nor any legal process pursued by the king, to repossess himself of them for a breach of condition, the titles of the grantees, according to the above decision, remain good, notwithstanding such breach of conditions.

In the following section (seventh), the author has reported the case of Tenny and wife v. Sawyer and wife, decided in the Supreme Court of this state, at the November Term in Essex, 1781. In this case were examined and decided six important questions. First, As to *estoppels*. Second, That a brother or sister of half blood is heir with one of whole blood. Third, That a deed is inoperative, when neither the grantor nor grantee is in possession, and there is an adverse possession. Fourth, A deed made by a minor and acknowledged, after he comes of age, is valid. Fifth, The devisee of a grantee vouched the grantors, living, and the *heirs* of deceased grantors, together. Sixth, The warrantors were vouched merely to aid in the defence, and not for the purpose of recovering over in value against them.

In chapter one hundred and thirtyfifth, article fifth, sections thirteenth and fourteenth, he reports the case of Sawyer v.

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Rogers & al. In this case was examined a large part of the law relating to *contingent remainders*, and *collateral warranties*; the opening of an estate to admit a child born after the decease of the testator; and joint tenancy. This case, which is here abridged in three or four pages, was twice argued, and very elaborately. It is worthy of remark, that it was ascertained in this action, that no case, on *collateral* warranty, had been reported in the books, for two centuries.

A part of the plan of the author is to give a compendious summary of the *general principles* of the several branches of the law. Under the head, *general principles*, are found the most important matters, and often the law historically considered. For instance, in chapter eighteenth, article first, the general principles of the law of bankruptcy are thus stated. The author observes, that it is not necessary to consider the bankrupt laws at large in the United States, but admits,

There 'are many decisions, to be found in the bankrupt cases, which are material to show, where the right of property is, even where a system of bankrupt laws does not exist. In these cases may be found decided some of the nicest and most useful questions, in regard to property, and to frauds, more especially fraudulent sales of property by men on the point of failing, or in embarrassed circumstances.' 'As it will be observed, bankrupt laws are but briefly considered, in this chapter, and insolvent laws, in chapter thirtyninth, laws that so easily run into each other, and which have been so often confounded, it may be proper, in a few words, to notice their origin, and usual material differences."

'Insolvent laws existed in Rome, under the description of *cessio bonorum*, whereby the debtor's body was exempted, if he did yield up his goods, that is, his estate to his creditors, but his future acquisitions of property remained liable for his debts. Such laws were not necessary in England, at all, till the year 1267, nor in any considerable degree till 19 Hen. VII; for before 1267, there was no imprisonment for debt in England; this was gradually introduced by acts of Parliament, passed A. D. 1267, 1283, 1285, and mainly by 19 Hen. VII. Ch. 9, which last act gave the like process, in actions on the case, and for debt, as in trespass, that is, imprisonment, &c. After this time, the kings of England occasionally granted relief in the nature of insolvent acts; but no proper insolvent act was enacted by Parliament, till A. D. 1660; and in 1671, this act was reenacted, and made the first regular insolvent law in England; and this became the model of all after insolvent acts, occasionally passed in England and her colonies, about forty of which have been enacted in England; these acts

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have included all classes; most of the colonies enacted them; the great end of which was, usually, to exempt the debtor from imprisonment, on giving up all his property to his creditors, leaving his future acquisitions of property liable for his debts.

'Bankrupt laws grew out of commerce, and it has been stated, that the first bankrupt act, 34 Hen. VIII. extended to all persons, and mentioned no discharge, and made bankruptcy criminal. The first proper bankrupt act was 13 Eliz. Ch. 7, followed by 21 James I. Ch. 19, and eleven or twelve others, all confined to merchants, and traders living by buying and selling. But few of the colonies passed bankrupt acts; but many insolvent acts, as Massachusetts, in 1698; New York, in 1755; Rhode Island, in 1756, &c. Insolvent acts sometimes, though not often, discharged the debtor's property as well as his body; these, in principle, were bankrupt acts so far; but one distinction has ever existed, that is, an insolvent act has ever operated at the instance of the debtor *imprisoned*, but bankrupt acts, at the instance of creditors; further, bankrupt acts have generally discharged the debts of the debtor wholly, and left neither his body nor future acquisitions of property liable to pay them, though all this seems to have been rather by implication, than express law, till the 4th and 5th of Anne.

'*Insolvent* and *bankrupt* laws are thus materially different, and the difference is most material in our system; for, by the Federal constitution, Congress has power "to enact uniform laws, on the subject of bankruptcy, throughout the United States;" and it has been decided, the several states have power to enact bankrupt laws, when the power is not exercised by Congress; also, that the power to enact insolvent laws has ever been left in the state legislatures, but in both insolvent and bankrupt laws, this state power must be so exercised, as not to violate the first article, section tenth, of the constitution of the United States, which provides, that "no state shall pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or *law impairing the obligation of contracts;*" also decided, that imprisonment of the debtor's body is no part of his contract.

'At that time [1800], Congress passed a bankrupt law, nearly in the words of the principal British statutes, on the subject, and in 1804, repealed it. But the repeal did not revest any power in the several states, to enact bankrupt laws, if they had it prior to April 4th, 1800.

'It is a fundamental principle in a system of bankruptcy, that the instant one commits an act of bankruptcy, that, and every after act of his, is void so far, that he can make no disposition of his property, but in some especial cases. From this principle

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result several actions, deserving notice; some to the assignees; some to the bankrupt; and some to his creditors; several instances of which have been already stated. But a bankrupt's case may be taken out of the bankrupt laws, by the consent of all concerned. Every trader, able to contract, may be a bankrupt.' Vol. i. pp. 316—318.

These *general principles*, according to the author's plan, are, in several articles, followed with cases in detail.

In several chapters, he has given selections from the French law, and the law of Louisiana. We refer the reader to chapter first, article seventh, sections from the second to the twentyseventh, on the subject of contracts and considerations, where are collected the principles meriting notice in the civil and French law of contracts; to chapter seventeenth, article seventeenth, on the subject of *bailments;* chapter fortyfourth, article fourth, on *liens;* chapter one hundred and fortysecond, *property pledged* in Louisiana; chapter one hundred and fortyseventh, *legacies;* chapter one hundred and sixtyfirst, *limitation of the time of suing* in Louisiana; chapter two hundred and twentythird, Louisiana law generally, on the subject of descent of estates *causa mortis;* sales of property; slaves; property seizable on execution; property by occupancy and prescription. The French laws, in force in Louisiana, have been selected on these subjects, probably because peculiar to that state, where a knowledge of the laws of other states relating to them, would be of little or no importance.

We have now finished our cursory survey of this extensive work. Many may regret, that it did not sooner appear. So far, perhaps, as it respects the English law contained in it, the author's industry might have collected materials for its earlier publication. But had it been published fifteen years ago, it would have lost so many years of his valuable labors, and, what is very important, at that time, it could not have included the best portions of our American law, which have been published since.

There has probably never been a time, when the English law, in force here, the French law which we have dopted, and the native American law, could have been better embodied in one 'great national work.' Earlier, perhaps, our native American law, especially Federal, would not have furnished materials; and had it been delayed, our laws might have become too bulky and numerous, to have been abridged in this way.

Respecting its literary execution, we would observe, that a

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uniformity of style pervades the whole of the work; it is obviously the production of the same mind and the same pen. Simplicity, plainness, and brevity, are its characteristics. In a scientific work, his aim seems to have been to use the precise and technical language of science, rather than the embellishments and diction of literature. Fastidious critics will perhaps object, that, in the constant effort to use intelligible and simple language, his phrases are sometimes colloquial, and sometimes quaint; these qualities are observable in the treatises of many of the writers on the common law, who are not ambitious of adapting their style to the caprices of taste, and the changes of manners.

The last volume consists of references, and contains the largest *table of cases*, and the most copious and minute Index to be found in any law work, English or American. The addition of a running title to the Index, would have much facilitated the use of it. We would, however, refer the reader to the author's short preface to the eighth volume, containing the Index, in which he will find several facilities in citing the work, quite peculiar to it, and intended to supply the want of such a title.

The value of an accurate Index is well known to those, who have frequent occasion to consult voluminous works, in any science, and to construct a good one requires great patience, labor, and skill. If any, that have long been accustomed to the English Abridgments, think the mode of division and arrangement in this work inconvenient, its defects are supplied by the fulness and accuracy of the Index. Even the celebrated compilers of the civil law held discordant notions as to classification; and the three great works, which have shed lustre on the reign of Justinian, the Code, the Institutes, and the Pandects, were arranged each after a different method.

In this elaborate work are presented the matured fruits of nearly fifty years' study, meditation, and research. The author has honorably discharged the debt, which every man, according to Lord Coke, owes to his profession. A deliberate and careful examination of the whole work, will induce a concurrence in the opinion of one of our most learned and eminent judges, who examined a large part of it, before its publication, that the titles in general, as well as those he examined, 'exhibit a far more complete and methodical view of the law, than the corresponding titles of any abridgment now in use, and that it will peculiarly facilitate the labors of students in the profession.' We

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cannot refrain from expressing our admiration of the patient assiduity, indefatigable industry, and ardent devotion to professional learning, of which this work, more extensive and voluminous, than any that has been published by any individual in our country, on any subject, either in science or literature, is the honorable monument. Mr Dane's arduous labors at the bar, at which he held a distinguished rank, for the long space of nearly forty years, would alone have been deemed, by most men, sufficient occupation. Few, however, have devoted so much time and exertion to the public service, at the most gloomy periods too of our history, when the hearts of the wise and virtuous were filled with perplexity, and our most able men were anxiously summoned into the public councils. The journals of the state and national legislatures show, that he was one of the most influential and leading members of those bodies.

In 1780, soon after the civil government of Massachusetts had been organized under its constitution, then just adopted, a committee, consisting of the Judges of the Supreme Court, the Attorney General, James Bowdoin, and John Pickering, was appointed to revise the statutes, in use in the Commonwealth, to select, alter, abridge, and digest them, in order to accommodate them to the new form of government. Mr Dane was chairman of the legislative committee, to whose careful revision and severe scrutiny all the bills were subjected. The legislature again, in 1812, appointed him chairman of a committee to collect and publish the *charters*, and the public and general laws of the late colony and province of Massachusetts Bay; and, at a subsequent period, to revise and consolidate the various statutes regulating the Probate Court. He has contributed more services in the revision and improvement of the statute law of Massachusetts, than any other individual.

The journals of the Continental Congress in 1787 and 1788, while all the legislative and executive powers of the national government were vested in that single body, abundantly prove, that Mr Dane was an able, efficient, and influential member; and was frequently associated on the most important committees with Madison, Hamilton, and King. He was the framer of the celebrated *ordinance* of Congress of 1787, for the government of the Territory of the United States, Northwest of the River Ohio, an admirable code of constitutional law, by which the principles of free government were extended to an immense region, and its political and moral interests secured on a perma-

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nent basis. One of its fundamental provisions, 'that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory,' prevented, by a wise foresight, a mass of evils, and rendered that fine country the abode of industry, enterprise, and freedom.

In drafting this ordinance, Mr Dane incorporated into it the cardinal preventive provisions, against impairing the obligations of contracts by legislative acts. A few months after the adoption of this ordinance, the convention, which framed the Federal constitution, ingrafted the same great moral principle into that instrument; and it is worthy of observation, that this fundamental provision was so much in accordance with the moral sense of the American people, that, amid the great diversity of opinions, and variety of amendments and objections to that instrument, in the state conventions, no proposition was made, from any quarter, to expunge this restriction on their power to resort to *relief* and *stop laws*, which had, in various shapes, at that time aggravated the distresses of the people.

A liberal and learned profession will hold in high estimation the labors of this eminent civilian and lawyer, who, for half a century, has made American jurisprudence and American institutions his peculiar study; and every lawyer, instead of feeling regret for deficiencies, ought to be animated with sincere gratitude for what has been accomplished.

ART. II.—*Elements of History, Ancient and Modern; with Historical Charts.* By J. E. WORCESTER. Boston. Cummings, Hilliard, & Co. 1826. 12mo. pp. 324. and fol. pp. 34.

THE advances that have been made in education, during the present century, so far as elementary books are concerned, are among the most noticeable things of the age. We do not speak merely of the increase of such books; for this, apart from their increasing merit, is no inconsiderable evil. But there has been, from the humblest schools up to our highest academical institutions, much actual improvement in books and modes of instruction, which are so intimately connected, that they may be expected to advance with equal steps. Scholars have not been disposed, in general, to acknowledge, that there are many dis-

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coveries to be made in the methods of imparting a knowledge of what mankind have been constantly learning, ever since the dark ages, where the limits and boundaries of the art or science are well known; but whatever may have been our belief on the subject in our reasonings *a priori*, there are examples enough of recent improvements, not indeed to justify the visionary theorists, who look forward to a summary process for all sorts of learned acquirements, but enough to satisfy the reasonable expectations of wiser men, who have grieved over the elaborate processes gone through by learners for the obtaining of slender results, and the lamentable mechanical contrivances resorted to for learning that, which ought to be the work of the understanding. We are not among those who think that children and young people will ever find, that they can play their progressive course through all learning and knowledge; but we know and have seen how much encouragement they want, and how unreasonably their elders sometimes presume upon their capacities, and power of attention and of reasoning from one example to another, little remembering the bitter tears, and disappointments, and mortifications of their own boyish years from the same source. Knowing these things, we would encourage every facility to learning, which is not obtained by the sacrifice of anything valuable in what is to be learned. It is with this view of the case, that we are always pleased to see every useless incumbrance thrown off; to see logic despoiled of its old barbarous terms; to see the rules in our Latin grammars, expressed in our vernacular language; to see everything technical rejected, except so far as it is subsidiary to the understanding and memory, in acquiring and retaining valuable truth. Not that we approve of perpetual change, without evident practical benefit. Too much of caprice has been witnessed in this respect, in the multiplication and introduction of school books; and a foolish vanity has often instigated a teacher to issue his spelling-book, or grammar, or arithmetic, of which the highest praise is, that it is harmless or superfluous. But while the market has been filled with these small and easily wrought wares, there has, till of late, been wanting an elementary work on ancient and modern history.

Tytler's Elements, the first work of this kind, which we think it necessary to notice, has been regarded, as it deserves to be, with respect. Formed from the abundant materials furnished by a course of lectures on general history, which he delivered

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for a succession of years in the University of Edinburgh, it might be expected to display all the learning and fidelity, which the subject demands. And in these respects, the reader is not disappointed; for the work manifests much diligent research, and a good deal of philosophical reflection. It imparts a just knowledge of the progress of literature and the arts, and of the state of society and government of different countries at different periods. All this is done so much better than it had been done before, in a small compass, that the work is a very useful addition to the class of books to which it belongs, though not calculated for the earlier stages of education. It too frequently indicates, that its origin was in the lecture room; for while it is sufficiently full of the philosophy of history, the *philosophy* is not sufficiently taught and illustrated by *examples*, to comport with the ancient definition of history given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, which is so often quoted to this day. The speculations are too often dry and uninteresting, and not sufficiently intelligible to the young pupil, whose attention must be lured by easy and simple narrative, and who cannot be expected to gain much from abstruse reasonings upon causes and consequences, either physical or moral.

The style of this history partakes of the general character of the work itself; and is wanting in that simplicity, which is necessary to adapt it to youthful minds.

Well conducted philosophical discussions concerning persons and facts, are indeed among the higher excellences of the historian; but considerable maturity of mind is requisite, in order to estimate their value, and to derive from them the instruction they are intended to impart. We are persuaded that many of these discussions in Tytler's Elements are above the reach of learners, and anticipate much more historical knowledge than the book itself furnishes. This is a great blemish, and very discouraging to young readers. Indeed one of the greatest mistakes, and a mistake among the most difficult to avoid, both in books and in modes of teaching, is the presuming of too many things as already known, which are known only to the writer or preceptor. We are too apt in imparting instruction to children and youth, to come too suddenly to results, forgetting some of the steps by which we ourselves arrived at the knowledge we would convey; and the learner strives and perplexes himself in vain, to supply the defects of his teacher.

One other defect of this work, considered as an elementary

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book, is the arrangement of its materials. It is divided into chapters, the subjects of which are often but slightly, and sometimes not at all connected with each other. The thread of historical narrative is so frequently broken, that the interest of the pupil is not awakened and sustained, and he comes from his task with vague and indistinct impressions. After having studied the whole work with diligence, he will indeed have obtained many important facts and useful truths; but his knowledge will be confused and unconnected, and no regular outline of the history of any empire or state will be impressed upon his mind.

We are confirmed in the justness of the foregoing remarks, by the testimony of several experienced teachers; and it was probably the growing dissatisfaction with Tytler's Elements, which was perceived to exist among instructers and their pupils, that induced one of our own countrymen to offer the public a work of similar kind, but of a character more pleasing and popular.

The work to which we refer, is a *Compend of History*, by *Samuel Whelpley*. If Tytler, in his style, aiming to be didactic, is dry, and philosophically dull; Whelpley, on the contrary, striving to charm too much, by the eloquence of his diction, is often verbose and declamatory. As it is impossible to tell at how early a period of life a false taste in the use of language may be formed, we do not think it unimportant, and we deem the present a fair occasion, to protest against some of the faults of style, which pervade this Compend. We have said it is declamatory, not in the worst sense of the word, but far too declamatory for history. It is seldom sufficiently simple, and everywhere abounds too much in epithets; and the writer too frequently forgets, that there is any distinction between the province of the historian, and that of the orator. Hence it is there are many passages, which would not disgrace a fourth of July oration, and some, which would be animated and not unseemly in the pulpit; but which, in both kinds, are out of place in history. The directions of all the standard, philosophical critics require in narration a style at once concise and comprehensive, a style, which rejects superfluous words and circumstances. Redundant epithets are even sparingly allowed to poets; least of all writers, perhaps, to the historian. But beside the *multitude* of epithets, in the *Compend* of which we are speaking, they are often offensive in their kind. It is, to be sure, the

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duty of the historian to give the proper moral distinctions between characters and between actions; but having done this, without exaggeration, he has done his duty. There is no need of perpetually heaping up epithets, as if it were impossible to reach the full measure of panegyric or indignation, which the person or action seems to invite or provoke. 'Infamous, atrocious, and abandoned,' are all linked together to brand one character; another is an 'infernal monster,' and his acts those of 'savage barbarity;' 'atrocities of a villain, who deserves to sink into the shades of eternal infamy, ten thousand degrees below Nero or Domitian.' Now we must acknowledge, that these, and many other examples of the same kind, are not to our taste; and we should fear they would rather give our children a relish for the *language* of violent crimination, than increase their abhorrence of the criminal or of his crimes.

The arrangement of Whelpley is far preferable to that of Tytler, and the different portions of history are carried on with much less interruption. Many chasms have been filled by the recent editor, who laments, that the author scarcely touched some of the most important topics of history. The additions thus made, comprise about a third part of the last edition, and a valuable part; but they show the difficulty of completing a work, projected, but not sufficiently filled up by a previous hand. Though most of the additions are such as belong to a book of this kind, according to its general plan, yet they are sometimes disproportioned to the other parts, and more prolix than the subjects themselves seem to require.

There are some portions of the modern history, and those perhaps not the least entertaining and instructive, which do not come strictly within the plan of a compendious history. We mean those parts, which deal in generalities, which appear to belong to geography or itineraries, rather than to an elementary work of universal history.

If the remarks we have made are well grounded (and we have certainly no disposition to disparage either of the works mentioned), the appearance of a compend of history, more elementary than any preceding, cannot be unwelcome. We have, therefore, been induced to examine *Mr Worcester's Elements of History*, with attention, in the hope, that its contents would vindicate its title. His well earned reputation, in works of a kindred sort, justly excited an expectation concerning its merits, in which we are not disappointed. Though at first sight it may

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appear to be too small, and too limited in its details, yet it will be found to contain a great mass of facts; for it is altogether historical, and shows that the author keeps in view the boundaries, which separate history, as well from geography, as from biography and travels, except so far as the ground is necessarily common. Geography is unavoidably connected, in some degree, with history; and in such a manner, that it has been significantly called, no less than chronology, one of the eyes of history. Mr Worcester, therefore, came to his new task with peculiar advantages, which will be more distinctly perceived, when we come to speak of the Charts, which accompany the History.

Historical truth is obtained frequently with great difficulty. In modern, and even in recent history, much critical discrimination, no less than unceasing fidelity, is often required to separate the true from the false. But in ancient history the task is vastly greater. The real and the fabulous have come down to us so mingled, as to demand the severest exertion of judgment to distinguish them. If, however, the object of history be not something more than amusement, or something different from instructive fiction, the labor of distinguishing them would hardly be repaid; and the credulity or want of discrimination, which mark the ancient history of Rollin, and which caused him to admit into it so much exaggeration, and so much of fictitious story, are not deserving of censure. But as a main object of history is truth, we cannot but commend the severity of Mr Worcester's judgment, by which he excludes from his elements of ancient history, what in his estimation is fabulous, or gives the necessary cautions against receiving it for truth.

It will be thought by some, perhaps, that this work is too partial in its extent, and that, in modern history particularly, it should embrace all the principal states and empires; giving to each a proportion of space corresponding to its relative importance, instead of confining its details to a few, whose history is the most interesting. This apparent defect, however, is supplied in a great measure by the Charts, in which is embraced a vast deal more than, from a cursory survey of them, we should be led to conclude. The foundation is therefore laid for an elementary history far more extensive, which the author can hereafter build upon, if it should be demanded. In the mean time, the pupil, who shall become possessed of all the facts which are here offered him, will have made no small advances in historical

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knowledge. These facts are presented also in an engaging manner, not only in the charts, which assist the memory, by forming a kind of picture of history for the eye, but also by the style in which the *Elements* are written. It is a style uniformly neat; without effort or perceivable ambition; without exaggeration from the use of superlative epithets; and unpolluted by any gross expressions. At the same time, it does not want for vivacity, and as far as we can judge for our juniors, we should expect to find the book read with great interest by them, and to be well understood by all, who are capable of entering on the study of history.

Connected with the Elements are nine large folio charts, comprising historical facts, combined with chronology, in such a way, that the great outlines of history may be learned with far greater facility, and by the power of association will be more permanently fixed in the memory, than in the ordinary method. There is no forced analogy, in this respect, in comparing them with maps in geography; the chart giving nearly the same kind of locality to persons and things, as the map does to places. Single charts of history and biography have been more or less used for many years; and valuable collections, like that of Le Sage, have been published in a manner much too expensive for general use; so that Mr Worcester is the first, who has given the American public an opportunity to try this mode of instruction to any great extent. We have carefully examined his charts, and are fully persuaded of their great utility, and of their general correctness.

One great excellence of these charts is, that, when studied with the Elements, they will enable the pupil to attend at once to the connexion of time and subject, and thus remove a great difficulty, which has always been experienced in the arrangement of general history. By means of the charts, the author has been enabled to devote his book to the more important parts of history, and to some topics particularly useful in an introduction to the study. He has also avoided the necessity of incumbering it with dates, to any considerable degree, and been enabled to trace a regular and uninterrupted outline of those empires or states, a knowledge of which is most important or interesting to the mass of readers and pupils in our own country. By presenting the whole skeleton of history (if we may so speak) in the charts, the necessity of treating of the minor states, in the book itself, is for the most part unnecessary; for by inspecting

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the charts, one may see when and how long these states flourished; their rise, progress, and fall; and what states were contemporary with each other.

The first of these charts is perhaps less original in its construction and plan, than any of the number, being, except in the ecclesiastical part, much like those of Priestley and Bailey. As a whole, they manifest great ingenuity of contrivance, and convey as much knowledge, and in a way as intelligible, as we can conceive that this mode, striking as it appears, is capable of conveying; and being bound separately from the Elements, and accompanied by questions adapted to the use of them, they can be studied by themselves, or in connexion with any compend of history.

The best method of teaching history, as well as geography, is a subject, which has been much agitated of late; and though we cannot give an opinion upon it from actual experience, yet we shall here advert to it for a moment, before closing our remarks. One of the most useful directions for facilitating the study of history, according to Dr Priestley, is to begin with authors, who present a *compendium*, or general view of the whole subject of history, and afterwards to apply to the study of any particular history, with which a more thorough acquaintance is desired. This always appeared to us rational, and we have not, till recently, been aware, that pupils, who were disposed to learn at all, revolted with any disgust from the course thus marked out. But from a fanciful analogy, as it seems to us, between the inductive method of reasoning in metaphysics and intellectual philosophy, and the way of pursuing various arts, it is strenuously maintained by some, that in history, as well as in everything else, the learner must begin with what is nearest to him; that he must commence with his own little precinct, as the centre of his circle, and pursue the radii and concentric circles, till he has compassed our whole sphere. Now this may be very amusing in its commencement, both to the instructer and to the pupil; but as to its practical superiority over the common method, if it is expected to be carried forward to its full extent, we are wholly incredulous. Even in geography, in regard to which the plan is more intelligible, we cannot perceive its use beyond the merest incipient state of instruction, certainly not as a substitute for the mode of teaching by approved books and maps. In history its use must be still more limited. Everything, however, in the shape of history, recent,

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near, or remote, may be subsidiary to one's progress in the knowledge of it, and the pupil may come to transfer the interest, which he feels in particulars, to the general study. If what we have now admitted, be anything like, or nearly the same as what is intended by the projectors of reform, in this part of education, then it is unreasonable in them to talk so much and so loudly against the books and modes of instruction in present use. But if much more is intended, it amounts to an innovation, as it seems to us, wholly groundless, and altogether hopeless as to practical improvement. We have seen no books formed on the plan proposed, to any great extent, for not even the geography of Pestalozzi has much to do with such a plan; and apart from his definitions, and we approve of a liberal use of definitions, we can see nothing in the work, which claims a remarkable share of praise; and as a whole, it is very far from being attractive. Oral instruction, which is brought into view in the system of which we are speaking, is very agreeable, and has some great advantages; but they are such pleasures and advantages as few have the means of enjoying to any great degree. Be they ever so great, however, this kind of instruction cannot supersede, nor is it desirable that it should, in any stage of education, the use of books. Certain it is, that oral instruction in the arts and sciences, can never become general, till the return of the patriarchal age, when every parent shall be able to teach all, that it is important his children should learn.

We do not fear, therefore, for our reputation, in recommending Mr Worcester's History for what it claims to be, an elementary book; and besides its general excellences, which we have mentioned, it will impart much information, not commonly found in treatises of this kind, which a young student needs to be furnished with; such as the antiquities of Greece and Rome, mythology, religion, and literature.

ART. III.—*Practical Observations upon the Education of the People.* By HENRY BROUGHAM, ESQ. M. P. F. R. S. London. 1825. 8vo. pp. 33.

THE edition of this interesting pamphlet, which is now before us, and which was published last year, is the tenth; but we

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believe, that before the end of the year the editions had been multiplied to nearly three times that number; and we are given to understand, that the Observations have in the same time been most extensively circulated throughout Great Britain in reviews, journals, and newspapers of every description. Or if any exception is to be made, it is a circumstance that does not diminish, but rather increases the interest and importance of this statement. That there should be men to take alarm at the universal spread of knowledge; that there should be powerful, nay, respectable journals setting themselves in array against this object, only shows how strong is that cause, against which such an opposition avails so little. This hostility, however, concerns us not, except as a matter of information and of regret. Nor would it much disturb, if it did more nearly concern us. For it may as safely be said of knowledge as of truth, since it is, in fact, but saying the same thing, that it 'is strong and will prevail.'

The cause of human improvement, of human nature, has gone too far, the hope of it has become too strong, to allow despondency. The single fact, that a publication like the one before us, has, in England, gone through nearly thirty regular editions in a year, and as many more in quotations and extracts, stands, with us, against all other facts. It stands against whatever is stronger than facts, against all obstacles, however deeply laid in the foundations of prescription, and strongly built in the battlements of power. There is a movement in the great mass of society, to which all such obstacles must yield, or by which they must be swept away.

But we do not intend to enlarge on this subject of general improvement, about which so many pens are engaged, indeed, that it can scarcely fail of being understood for want of being discussed. We do regard this excited and universal attention to the subject, however, this quickened and earnest spirit of the age, as the pledge of great things. It will fulfil itself. But that it may do so with the greatest success, it is desirable, that every people should bend its first attention to the correction of its own errors, to the remedy of its own abuses, and to urging forward its own improvement. We are willing to consider ourselves as pledged to perform our part, as reviewers, in this great work. We believe there is much to be done, and, most of all, in what may be considered as the very elements of this business, the *education of the people.*

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It will not be doubted, that the subject of education, at large, among the many subjects that have engaged the minds of men for the last three hundred years, has come late for its share of attention. The pressure of political tyranny, or of ecclesiastical domination, has compelled men to inquire into their civil and religious rights. Curiosity and the love of research have urged them to penetrate far into the fields of science and intellectual philosophy. The natural growth of taste and imagination has developed itself in the arts and in literature. But the science of education has been one of less obvious utility or attractiveness, or of less urgent claims upon attention. Men could live, could defend their rights and opinions, could amass personal acquisitions and pleasures, without any of this science. And in the nature of things, they would regard a present interest, which was their own, more than a future one, which concerned their children.

In conformity with these remarks, we find that the subject of education has elicited fewer books, than any other great subject affecting human welfare; fewer than law, medicine, politics, or religion. Fewer, did we say? There is really no comparison between the cases. While there are books on these and other subjects, so many, that the world can scarce contain them; while in foreign countries alcoves, and halls, and mighty structures groan with the weight, some of one hundred, and others of five hundred thousand volumes in a library, you may wander through them all, and find but here and there a thin, neglected, and, very likely, superficial book on education. And this deficiency, moreover, indicates another; a deficiency of interest on this subject, in the public mind. For it is in this, as it is in other things, that a demand, a market will procure a supply. If there had been readers, or those who wished to be such, there would have been writers. And even now, when this subject is attracting an increased attention, there are, and there are among reading parents too, but few, comparatively, who read and inquire earnestly on the best methods of education. Voyages, travels, poems, novels, good things in their place, provided they are good in their character, but these accounts of other, and often fictitious beings and scenes, are more attractive to the most of us, than those discussions, which lead us to contemplate in every light, that interest and duty can present, the beings and scenes of our own home.

It is an encouraging omen for the coming age, that the num-

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ber both of writers and readers on education is increasing; that many powerful minds are directed to this subject, and that the public attention is beginning to awake; that parents and guardians are making more liberal appropriations of their property, and that men of the highest talents and education are taking up the professed business of teaching youth, not only in our universities and colleges, but in our lyceums, academies, and schools; and that their toils, morever, in many cases, are better compensated than any other intellectual labor in the country. These combined circumstances, connected as they are with the free institutions and fortunate auspices of our national condition, give rise to indefinite expectations of improvement, both in the principles and in the modes of education among us.

In this state of things and of the public mind, we feel a warrant for undertaking to point out some features of that improvement, which the age is demanding; which, in fact, is already taking place, and which, we are sure, will be more fully developed in our systems of instruction. Our language almost involuntarily takes the form of hope and promise; but we give fair warning, that we have to speak of faults and evils, which have prevailed, and still too much prevail, in our systems of education.

We have only farther to premise, that we shall confine our remarks chiefly, if not entirely, to the education, not of scholars, but of the body of the people, to popular education; to studies, that are pursued in the English language, whether in our common, or grammar schools, or our academies, or our female schools generally. There is another department of popular education, however, distinct from these; and in treating of it, we shall avail ourselves of the valuable information and the judicious remarks, which are thrown together in Mr Brougham's pamphlet.

Let us add, that, as we have proposed the humblest scene of education, we shall content ourselves with some very plain and obvious suggestions, such as all will admit, though but few apply them; for such, on a subject like this, are likely to be at once the most just and the most useful.

The first thing to be required in a system of popular instruction, is, that it should be intelligible; that children and youth should understand what they learn. Understand what they learn? it may be asked; What else can they do? We answer, that they may commit it to memory, may recite it, may even make a

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fair show of knowledge, and yet know nothing. 'Understandest thou what thou readest,' or what thou sayest? is the hardest question, that can be put to the old inquirer, and to the guarded and cautious controvertist or disputant. But to most children, in regard to much of what they have been taught in the prevailing systems of education, this would be a confounding question. We have not the least hesitation in saying, that two or three years, in the education of almost every individual in this country, have been thrown away upon studying what they did not understand. What, for instance, can a child from seven to ten or twelve years old understand of the science of grammar? It is one of the most abstruse and profound of sciences, involving an analysis of thought, and the most delicate discrimination of it. Language is the instrument of thought; and if a man cannot comprehend an instrument of merely mechanical power; if he cannot comprehend the principles of a steam engine, without some acquaintance with philosophy, shall he expect with more ease scientifically to comprehend the great instrument of intellectual power? It may be said, that this comparison is against us; that a man may understand the use of language without investigation, as he may understand the use of a steam engine without philosophy. But to this we have a ready answer. Every child learns the use of language, and he obtains his actual use of it, whether correct or incorrect, not from the pages of a grammar, but from actual life, from conversation, from reading. And one of the evils of this system is, that the child imagines, that by the new names he gives to words, as verbs, nouns, &c. by a parade of definitions, and a routine of parsing terms, he is making great acquisitions of knowledge, while in fact he is learning nothing.

In these remarks, we intend not to reflect on intelligent teachers of youth. They are obliged, to a certain extent, to go in the beaten path. Popular custom requires this study to be pursued, at a certain age. There is a mystery hanging about it, to the eyes of most parents, it is true; they have not the slightest conception of any use there can be in it; but there is a vague and indefinable impression on their minds, that grammar is something very important, and indeed essential. The child is, therefore, sent to learn it; and perhaps is chastised for his dulness and reluctance; while, in fact, by this very dulness or reluctance, by this unwillingness to learn what he does not understand, he is often giving the best proof of good sense and brightness of parts.

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The improvement, then, which we confidently expect on this subject, is, that it will be postponed to a later period in the course of education; that it will be accompanied with more reading, writing, and reflection; and, that it will then be taught not as a mere set of rules, which every child gains from actual conversation, but that it will be taught as the science of language.

We might easily add to the number of subjects, either in themselves unintelligible to children, or rendered so through the mode in which they are communicated; but, as we shall have occasion, under another head, to animadvert upon several of the branches of common education, we shall only refer for the present to the books in which the art of reading is commonly taught. They are made up, in general, of the most splendid passages of our eloquence and literature; passages, whose force and beauty, the body of adult readers but very vaguely apprehend, and which to children are often perfectly mysterious. We still remember the strange ideas, which, in our early days, we had of these passages, and the ridiculous blunders in reading them, which used to pass on from year to year in that venerable place, the school house. We are sure, that for most of the children in our common schools, yea, and our grammar schools, and academies, the finest and most highly wrought compositions of our language are not the proper readings. The monotonous, we had almost said, the idiotic vociferation, with which these passages are bawled out in our schools, abundantly shows, that they are the worst possible lessons for the youthful learner. They are not understood; and not being understood, they induce those false habits of reading, that monotony and singsong, from which even our educated men and public speakers but too rarely escape. Now, if there were substituted, in place of these elaborate compositions, familiar narratives of the most common events, and especially such easy and spirited dialogues as many of Miss Edgeworth's, we believe it would be as impossible for children to avoid the right tone, as it is under the present system found impossible for them to attain it.

The same remarks may also be extended to the indiscriminate reading of the Scriptures in our schools. Without entering at all into the question of the moral bearing of this practice, we may observe, that there is a considerable part of the Scriptures, and even of the New Testament, which children cannot comprehend; and therefore, on every account, that nothing but

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the most carefully selected portions of our sacred books should be introduced as reading lessons.

Shall a child, then, it may be asked, attend to nothing, that it cannot understand? We answer, to very little or nothing. What possible use would it serve? It may be thought, that for a boy to study the grammar of an unknown language, is studying what he does not understand. But certainly not. He understands, if he is properly taught, that the grammar, which he is learning, is a description of the unknown tongue, that he is to study. The child, in this case, therefore, no more commits to memory what he does not understand, than an adult, than the most learned professor of languages. But is there not much in the commencement of every study and science, that is necessarily unintelligible? We say decidedly, that there is not. If we are wrong, we will stand corrected by those that are wiser. We do not believe in the doctrine, nor in a part of it, that it is necessary to the process of learning, to lay up in the memory words without meaning. The first principles of every science may have bearings and relations, indeed, which the learner does not understand; but he does, or may understand all that is intended for him as a learner; all that is necessary for him, in order to proceed intelligently in his study. Take, for example, the axioms of the mathematics. Are they not intelligible? The very science proceeds on the supposition, that they are understood. Take the definitions of any branch of study, and if they cannot be understood, we desire to know, what is the use or purport of a definition? After knowledge may undoubtedly throw further light on these definitions, and axioms, and first principles; but they are, at the outset, or may be, comprehended to a certain and sufficient extent. We are not required to admit, therefore, what, after all, is a mere solecism, that a child must learn what he cannot understand.

The evils, which have resulted from this defect in education, are of the worst kind. The loss of time, already alluded to, is the least of them. Nor is even the loss of knowledge the greatest of them. For the very disposition to know, the very desire of acquisition is taken away. Much of the ignorance of the community is to be traced to this kind of learning. How many dull scholars, too, have been made so by unintelligible instruction. The abused mind still gives this testimony to its intrinsic dignity, that it cannot be interested in what it does not understand. Words, that neither teach nor signify anything to

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it, must be dull; they ought to be dull. It is, and it ought to be, a dull business to commit them to memory, and to repeat them, though with ever so much fluency and eclat. This attending to words, without comprehending their meaning, also fosters a habit of indistinctness, a want of discrimination of mind. It creates a mental unfaithfulness, and something bordering certainly on moral dereliction. There cannot be a worse habit for the mind, if not for the heart, than to be content with an equivocal, half way knowledge of what is studied, or read, or heard. It is fatal to thorough scholarship; it is injurious to practical good sense; it is a species of injustice to the mind, and almost a swerving from conscience. We are prone enough from our natural indolence, to rest satisfied with superficial knowledge; but we add to this propensity the influence of a negligent and superficial education. And yet, perhaps, nothing so puffs up the mind with a notion of its acquisitions, as superficial knowledge. No person is so self complacent as the fluent repeater of unmeaning words.

But we must not dwell longer on these evils. Let us hope, that they will soon be remedied, that books of elementary instruction will be simplified, as some of them already have been; that education will become less scholastic, less artificial, less a matter of imposing formality, and more a business of real understanding; that the capacity and aptitude of children will be more consulted in the appropriation of their studies, and that their minds will no more be stupified and disgusted with laborious and fruitless application to subjects beyond their reach and comprehension. The human mind is fitted to be interested and delighted at every step of real progress in knowledge. And when this progress is made, it will be found, that the simple delight of learning will surpass and supersede all the lower influences of fear, jealousy, and emulation. And this of itself, if there were nothing else, would constitute a new and grand era in education. But we find that we are entering on another subject, that belongs to the course of our remarks.

The second thing, then, to be demanded in an improving education, is, that children and youth should be more interested in what they learn.

The dulness of our schools is proverbial. The weary task, the irksome lesson, is what most persons probably remember as having tried their utmost patience. Enter many of our schools, and, unless an approaching examination, or a contested medal

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has called forth the spirit of zealous rivalship, what languor and listlessness meet you on every side. How many vacant faces, and heavy attitudes, and sluggish movements. How many indications that everything is done because it must be done; that almost every learner is held to his seat, not by inclination, but by necessity; that if the restriction were taken off, they would fly from the walls of the school room, as they would from the walls of a prison. And now suppose they were released, and that you should follow them to the play ground. What an instantaneous and total metamorphosis would you witness. What life and spirit; what eager faces and bright eyes; what delightful animation. And is it true, then, that man is naturally more an animal, than an intellectual being; that he was made to be more interested by sports and feats of physical strength and skill, than by the intense and exquisite pleasures of knowledge? For the honor of human nature, we would not admit the idea; and, in truth, we do not believe it. There are instances, and there will be more, where the school room calls forth the most active and delightful exercise of the faculties, and is resorted to with as much eagerness as the most fascinating sports of childhood.

This step, in the course of an improved education, will naturally follow the one already mentioned. Let children understand, and they will be prepared to be interested. But this is not all. They must be taught what is naturally fitted to interest them, and they must be taught it in a manner suited to gain this object.

And here we shall venture to call in question much that is taught in many, even of the better sort of schools, on the ground of a deficiency in one of these respects, that is, of its being uninteresting in the matter, or of its being made uninteresting by the form in which it is presented. Of this latter class are many of the English studies, that are pursued in most of our schools, and especially of our female schools. They are not uninteresting in themselves, but they are made so. Arithmetic, geography, history, as they are commonly taught, are to most learners extremely wearisome and dull; that is to say, these studies are not interesting for their own sake, and they can be pursued with interest, only by means of stimulants quite foreign to the love of knowledge. It is impossible, that a body of mere abstract facts, without any relation to the grounds or reasons of them; without any relation to human nature or human life; without any obvious

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relation to practical utility or personal improvement; it is impossible that such isolated facts, however true or important, should be really interesting, any more than the definitions of a dictionary, or the events of a table of chronology.

It has been remarked by Dugald Stewart, that the amount of our knowledge does not depend on the number of ideas we have, but upon the number of *relations*, which we perceive between them. But many people imagine, that there is some absolute and singular good in certain ideas, in certain, though most inconsequential and useless statements, because they are set down in books; because they are what is called learning; and perhaps, also, because that most precious of all things, money, is paid for their acquisition.

Now what pleasure, we beg leave to ask, what interest can be taken in the hundred rules of arithmetic, if not one in ten of them is ever to come to any use, and still fewer of them are ever understood in their principles; that is to say, are ever demonstrated by the learner? What statement of particulars can there be so barren or so trivial, that it is not equally entitled to interest and delight the mind? There is some intellectual effort elicited, it is true, but it is, after all, but a misdirected and vexatious toil. As to geography, there is indeed a satisfaction in being acquainted with foreign countries; there is a charm in the descriptions of noble rivers and mighty cataracts; of green and cultivated fields, and majestic forests and mountains; of flourishing kingdoms and splendid cities; and Malte-Brun has shown us, that a charm may be given to these descriptions even in a book of geography. But geography, as it is commonly taught, is divested of most of these attractions. It is reduced to a matter of geometrical survey; of lengths and breadths; of latitudes and longitudes; of heights and distances; dry statements of population and produce. We do not deny, that something of all this should be learnt; but it should be as little as possible, and always on a system of comparative geography. With regard to thick and crowded compendiums of history, we have really no patience with them. They are, and they ought to be, insufferably tedious. History is interesting, not as a collection of naked facts, which may be aptly repeated at an examination, and remembered, perhaps, the day after, and then, from the excessive and irksome load, which they lay upon the memory, necessarily and gladly forgotten; but history is interesting, as it spreads before us a mighty scene of human conduct, unfolds its springs,

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and traces out its consequences, displays the character of the actors, with something of the detail and interest that belongs to biography; and thus touches and quickens the moral sentiments of our nature. And here again we allow, that something of the nature of compendiums is needful; but we are confident, that they should go but little beyond chronological and historical charts; landmarks to show the inquirer his course, his relative position, and his progress.

It will be easily seen, that we would not have the branches of study, on which we have ventured to bestow these strictures, neglected. We would have them pursued in their place and measure; and we will, in a moment, endeavor to state our views on this point.

But on the subject of studying rhetoric, or the rules of composition, we are obliged to doubt entirely. We should say, that rhetoric, considered as a set of rules, would be better learnt from reading; and that rhetoric, considered as the philosophy of language, is beyond the comprehension of almost all the pupils in our schools. The philosophy of rhetoric, however, is not attempted to be taught in them; and as to the rules, we believe they would be better learnt, if the time usually devoted to them, were given to reading the authors, who best illustrate them, and to composition. And we would recommend this latter practice, particularly to our female schools, since it would help, more than any other means, to correct what is considered as the most common fault in the female mind, the want of logical discrimination.

Upon the whole, then, in fixing the proportion, that should be observed in the different departments of education, we should assign a much larger place than is commonly given, to the study of nature; that is, to natural history, chemistry, natural philosophy, and astronomy. The earth, its structure, the substances of which it is composed, together with their mutual relations, and their action on each other; its minerals, plants, and animals; and then its connexion with other planets, and with the system of the universe; these would be inexhaustible sources of interest to the learner. These, in their elementary principles, together with languages, and, along with these severer studies, accomplishments in the arts of reading, writing, music, and the like, might occupy the early years of education. At a later period, accomplishments of a more intellectual kind, as history, rhetoric, and matters of literary taste, might be introduced.

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It may be thought by some, that these objects would require a life of study; and, carried to their fullest extent, they would. But we speak of them only in their elements, especially the subjects of natural philosophy; and we are persuaded, that half of the children in the country might, to some valuable extent, pursue this course of education; and that, with the exception of languages and the higher accomplishments, the other half might. Let them only begin right; let them learn nothing that they do not comprehend; let them be interested in what they learn; let them feel the excitement of curiosity, and have their faculties put on the stretch with the love of knowledge; and we believe, that a new race of children would rise up among us. Let a few simple, and they might be cheap, instruments and apparatus be introduced into our school rooms, for developing the beauties and wonders of nature, and let them be judiciously applied to this purpose; and instead of the barren minutiæ of geography being committed to memory, let the great features of it be surveyed with the aid of good maps, and drawings of cities, and of curiosities, and let interesting portions of history be combined with the study of different countries; and, instead of a multitude of tedious rules of rhetoric, let works of taste be read, which exemplify in fact all the rules of good writing; let all this be done, and much more of the same kind, and the school room would become one of the most interesting spots in the world. But let the business of education be a business of learning names and dates, and barren rules, of studying grammar before it is comprehended, or the abstract principles of rhetoric, which are turned to no account or use, or wearisome compendiums of history, or technical maxims of arithmetic, or the petty localities of geography; let all this be, and schools must be dull. Children may study, from the love or fear of their parents or teachers, from a desire of respectability, from rivalship, but not from the love of knowledge; and wanting this motive, their minds will be too apt to rise only to mercenary exertion, or to sink down into a miserable apathy or disgust towards all learning, towards books and everything connected with them. Finding no proper vent for their energy, and nothing in study to interest them, they may give their spirits chiefly and heartily to play, to rude tricks, and vulgar entertainments.

The fault here alleged is not to be laid to the charge of the intelligent teacher of youth. He is often obliged to go in a certain track; he is often engaged to teach certain branches,

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and children are sent to him expressly to learn them. The compensation that is afforded him, also, is in most cases so low, that he is compelled to receive more scholars than he can well teach; and, from the same cause, he is unable to procure the proper means and apparatus for instructing youth. The remedy for all these evils, therefore, can be applied only by the community. And to the community, we beg leave earnestly to commend this subject. It is a subject nearly touching the duties and the interests of society, and therefore worthy to be urged at all times, and through every medium of communication. The press of an intelligent and improving community ought to be considered as pledged to this cause.

The third thing to be desired in a system of popular education, is, that it should be more practical. This step will naturally follow the two preceding; for if education is more intelligible, and more interesting, we may presume it will be more practical; that is to say, it will be directed to purposes of more obvious and real utility.

It will be directed, in the first place, more to the culture of the mind, to the improvement of the character. It will be less an exercise of memory, and more of reasoning. For a child or youth to load his mind with thousands of rules, principles, and facts, will be judged to be of less consequence, than for him to reason on a few of them. The studies of the school and the college, instead of being looked upon as the ultimate point of attainment, will be regarded as the preparation, the furnishing and sharpening of the mind, for further discoveries and acquisitions. How quickly the books and studies of the school are laid aside, when the school is left, we all very well know; and this shows, that they never had any strong hold on the understanding, nor any obvious connexion with improvement.

The other respect in which education should be more practical, is, that it should more directly fit men for the actual business of life; or, to say more exactly what we mean, it should give to the business of life a more intellectual character; mingling thought and reasoning with it; guiding its labors, not by artificial rules, but by intelligent principles. Thus, a man may pursue the business of a mechanic, and may, without doubt, safely enough guide himself by certain rules, though he does not understand the reasons of them; or he may be a farmer without understanding anything of the nature and combination of different soils, or the chemical principles that are concerned

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in their improvement; or a man may traverse the ocean by the help of instruments and calculations, about the philosophy of which he knows nothing; and, certainly, with this blind adherence to rules, a man may be a good mechanic, or farmer, or navigator. But how much would it raise him in the intellectual scale; how much thought and reflection would it mingle with all his pursuits, if he did enter into this philosophy and reason of things. His daily labors would involve a constant exercise of intellect; and he would be, on all subjects, a more intelligent man. He would acquire a habit of looking into the reason of things, and this habit would extend to everything.

Nor let it be thought, that the acquisition of the necessary knowledge would be a Herculean task. The requisite study of nature, and of the laws of nature, may easily be simplified, so as to be brought within the comprehension of youth, and within the time ordinarily allotted to a common education among us. The application of science to the business of life is an object, which has already interested some intelligent and patriotic individuals, and two or three schools have recently been founded in this country for this specific purpose; and it cannot be doubted, that more of the same kind will soon be established. To some projects of this kind, that have been recently brought before the legislature of Massachusetts, we cannot help taking this opportunity to give our most hearty wishes for their success. Labor need not be a mere mechanical or corporeal drudgery. It may be accompanied with a perpetual exercise and improvement of the intellect. It may be accompanied with the study and love of nature, and with increasing discoveries of the wisdom of its laws, and the wonders of its operations; while, with these, every domestic affection, too, and every religious aim may mingle, to relieve, to exalt, and to hallow the toils of life.

Nor would those only, who are engaged in laborious employments, feel the benefit of an improving education, but the men of more leisurely and sedentary pursuits. It has been, we can hardly say to the reproach, but certainly to the disadvantage, of our merchants, and men of the learned professions, that they have been too much mere men of business. This is rapidly changing; and it will yet more change. Not that they will be less men of business, but more men of reading and study. Trade will be more and more understood, not only as an affair of barter, but as a subject of science. Its relations to society, to government, to national improvement; its connexion with the

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interests and institutions of foreign countries, and with the laws and political economy of our own, are subjects, which, if our merchants do not want the inclination, they will not want the leisure to pursue.

We expect much more, too, from the liberal professions. Trained in childhood to the love of knowledge, animated in later years with the love of learning, the lawyer, physician, and divine, not indolently content with what they must know, will push their inquiries into the fields of liberal investigation and elegant literature. There have been but too many quacks among us, not only in medicine, but in law and in divinity; too many mechanical drudges even in what are called the learned professions. We confidently expect the time when these professions shall better deserve the name of learned.

But it will be thought, that we have forgotten the pamphlet, whose title we have placed at the head of this article, and have only taken occasion from it to make a pamphlet ourselves; and we will not deny, that we have been more concerned to follow out the spirit of it, than to quote its details. We remarked, at the commencement of our observations, that there is a department of popular education distinct from the schools; we referred to the education of *adults*. It is to this, that Mr Brougham's observations chiefly relate.

There are now springing up in various parts of England, associations of mechanics and apprentices, by whom not only libraries are collected, but lectures are established; and bodies of intelligent artisans are found in a considerable number of towns and villages, spending one or two evenings in the week together, conversing on the principles of their respective arts, or listening to the illustration of them from an able lecturer, and he, too, in many instances, one who has risen up from among themselves. This example is beginning to be followed by some of our own cities; and we see not why it might not be extended to our villages, and even to very small villages of a considerably dense population, and why our farmers and manufacturers, as well as mechanics, might not unite to form similar institutions.

The utility of such institutions will not be doubted; we would ask, why their practicability is any more questionable? Let ten or twenty mechanics or farmers in any of our villages unite, and consent to appropriate six cents a week from their income, and they will soon have a valuable collection of books;

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others will join them, and their collection will swell into a library. With a little increased exertion, they may, during three or four of the most leisure months of the year, have a course of lectures. The expense, in such a country as this, ought not to be any serious objection. If it is made such, with any, let that objection be put to shame by the example of their English brethren. Nay, let it be put to still greater shame, by a survey of the actual and superfluous expenditures of the community. We will name but a single item. We ask but for what the show man carries off from our villages yearly, to establish libraries and lectureships.

We cannot leave this general subject of popular education, without saying something, in fine, of its bearings on the spirit of the age, and the situation and prospects of our country.

There is at this day an unprecedented developement of mind, and most of all unprecedented in its extension to all classes of the people. We cannot say, that we look without apprehension upon this excited mass of public sentiment, that is rising from the lethargy of centuries, like the sea from that deep, long, and unnatural calm, which precedes its most violent convulsions. From the free and inquisitive spirit of the age, we believe, that there is much to hope. We believe, that politics, religion, and the wisdom and welfare of life have much to hope; but we seriously apprehend, too, that they have something to fear; and the only chance of that glorious issue of the present state of things, to which the quickened and enthusiastic spirit of the age is looking, depends on the sound culture, and wise direction of the public mind.

'The question,' says Mr Brougham, 'no longer is, whether or not the people shall be instructed;' whether or not, we might add, in this country, they shall think and inquire with freedom and boldness; 'for that has been determined long ago, and the decision is irreversible; but whether they shall be well or ill taught; half informed, or as thoroughly as their circumstances permit, and their wants require. Let no one be afraid of the bulk of the community becoming too accomplished for their superiors. Well educated, and even well versed in the most elevated sciences they assuredly may become; and the worst consequence, that can follow to their superiors, will be, that, to deserve being called their *betters*, they too must devote themselves more to the pursuit of solid and refined learned.' p. 32.

But the subject of popular education is one of greater mo-

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ment to us in this country, than to any other people. Education, and the education of the people, too, is the hope, not of our improvement only, but of our existence. It stands, with us, in the place of everything that makes other governments strong. It stands in the place of the Establishment, of the army, and the sacred throne; it is the order, and defence, and power of the nation.

We look upon this nation as making a momentous and perilous experiment on free and popular institutions; nor is it to be thought, that the experiment has yet gone beyond the point of danger. It is certain, and it cannot be too often repeated, that such institutions as ours can have no permanent standing, but on the basis of knowledge and virtue. The charter of our privileges is our national character. It was this, that bought them when our strength was not in sinews, but in brave hearts; in the spirit of men, that were resolved to 'do, or die.' If other nations cannot attain to the same privileges; if Spain, and Portugal, and Italy cannot be free, it will be because the spirit of intelligent, virtuous, and courageous freedom is not in them. Let our people swerve from this, and it matters little whether, in name and in form, they are freemen or slaves. Let our national character fail in the great trial, which it is passing through; let luxury and excess grow in our cities; let vice stalk abroad fearlessly in our villages; let our hardy yeomanry become indolent, inefficient, bankrupt in property, and more bankrupt in spirit; let our noble youth lose the principles of a virtuous education, and vie with each other in extravagance and revelling; and farewell to the dignity and the joy of freedom. Though the semblance remain awhile, the spirit will have fled forever.

Now, that our national character is improving, we wish it were easier to maintain than it is. No sober citizen certainly can look without concern, on the increase of luxury, and the fearful inroads of intemperance among us; nor ask, without solicitude, what is to stay their desolating progress? To say, that we want more virtue, is only saying, that we have too much vice; and is therefore only to descant upon the evil, which we wish to correct.

Of the means of correction for this grand national vice, but two things occur to us as at all likely to have any success. One is, to lay a tax on spirituous liquors, such as must exclude them from that common use, which now brings temptation to every man's door, every day and hour of his life. But to this the community

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is not yet virtuous and highminded enough to consent; and hence the government will not venture upon a measure as impracticable, perhaps, as it is unpopular. Or, to state the case more truly, since, among us, the feelings of the people are represented in the government, the government has no inclination to do it.

The other means of prevention, and the only one, it appears, which is now open to us, is to educate, to enlighten, to exalt the public mind. Knowledge, reading, must supply those resources to the mind, which shall render it independent of meaner excitements. For why does a man resort to the intoxicating draught? Commonly, because he is unhappy without it; he wants something to excite or to entertain him. He sits down at home for an evening, and it is dull to him; he goes abroad for relief, and too often finds a relief, which is his ruin. Now let this man have been educated, not in the technical, artificial way, which too much prevails, but educated to the love of knowledge; let something of the science and mystery of nature have been opened to him; let interesting books have been provided for him; let him have been associated with others in the same pursuits; and he would not have found leisure a burden; he would not have found company a snare; he would not have found his home irksome. Life, with him, would have received a new impulse, new resources; and he would be proportionably raised above sense and matter, to intellect and virtue.

The hope of seeing communities thus educated, intelligent, virtuous, and happy, is one which we delight to cherish. We gladly go along, however cautiously, with this spirit and promise of the age. Visions of improvement, not of perfectibility, are before us; and though past experience seems to mock them, we will not believe they are dreams. The auspices of freedom, the tendencies of knowledge, the counsels of providence, the promises of Christianity, the hope of man, all forbid despair. Let our favored communities do their duty, and there shall be no place even for scepticism. Tell us not of difficulties, of obstacles, of expenses, in the way of rearing a wise, and enlightened, and righteous generation. Give us the refuse of the superfluous expenditure of the country, the fragments from the tables of luxury, the leavings of expensive entertainments and amusements, the cast off garments of sumptuous wardrobes; or store for us what excess consumes, and intemperance swallows in this land; and with these means, we could pledge ourselves to raise up a community, far more enlightened than the world

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has yet seen. Let every man, moreover, give his own faithful personal endeavors, and we deem it not too solemn to add, his earnest prayers to Heaven, and here upon these shores of promise, shall be reared up a community as pure and happy, as it shall be intelligent and enlightened.

ART. IV.—1. *The Constitution of the Reformed Society of Israelites, for promoting true Principles of Judaism according to its Purity and Spirit. Founded in Charleston, South Carolina, sixteenth of January*, 1825. Charleston. 1825. 8vo. pp. 16.

2. *A Discourse, delivered in Charleston, South Carolina, on the twentyfirst of November*, 1825, *before the Reformed Society of Israelites, for promoting true Principles of Judaism according to its Purity and Spirit, on their first Anniversary.* By ISAAC HARBY, a Member. Charleston. 1825. 8vo. pp. 40.

WE remember very few pamphlets of greater interest than these. It has, until lately, been supposed, that the minds of Israelites were so wedded to their religious peculiarities, as to be impenetrable to the spirit of innovation. Christians have been occasionally attracted by curiosity to the synagogue, and have observed in silence the singular rites and ceremonies, which are in practice there. But as long as there was so total a want of sympathy between the faiths of the two denominations, it was hardly thought worth while to animadvert upon the external modes of worship among the Jews, however uncouth and unreasonable they might appear. Little was it suspected, that in the bosom of that denomination itself, there were any who were so far surmounting the proverbial prejudices of their race, and so far imbibing the liberal spirit of the age, as to admit the possibility of improvement within their pale. Yet the publications before us are evidences of a spontaneous impulse towards a better state of things. The event, which they record, has been produced, neither by foreign nor internal violence or solicitation. What all the power and cruelty of all the potentates of Europe could never have wrung, by force or bribery,

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from the persecuted remnant of Israel, is now taking place under the operation of far gentler circumstances.

Many of our readers are probably unacquainted with the existing mode of conducting the services in Jewish synagogues. We will just hint at a few of their most prominent peculiarities, which may be sufficient to illustrate the account and the extracts, that we shall presently borrow from the pamphlets whose titles are placed at the head of the article.

Upon entering one of these edifices on a Saturday, you behold the assembly seated or standing with their hats on, and generally wearing an air of much greater indifference, than is witnessed even among Christians, during the season of public devotion. The priest, with a few attendants, is stationed on a high enclosed platform in the centre of the floor. As an instance of the little interest, which is excited by the immediate business of the place, we recollect, that once, while we were fixing our attention on the intonations of the chanting priest, a highly respectable elder of the congregation arose and crossed the area, and taking his seat next us, began the discussion of a curious point of Hebrew phraseology; after which, he entered upon much more general conversation, leaving on our minds at last the impression of his being a polite and hospitable entertainer, rather than of what we know he really was, a devout fellow worshipper.

The whole of the liturgy is conducted in the Hebrew language, with the exception indeed of occasional portions, which, in some synagogues, it seems, are uttered in Spanish. This latter circumstance is considered an aggravated enormity by the new party for reform. These Spanish portions of the liturgy are employed only for a particular purpose, namely, to express the amount of *monies offered* for the benefit of the synagogue and its institutions, by the subscribing members; thus interrupting the prayers and worship with the fiscal concerns of the establishment, and that, too, in a language unknown to almost all present. Whether this is a practice in all synagogues, we are unable to say.

The ritual consists of readings and responses in a kind of chant, or recitative, enunciated frequently with great indistinctness and volubility, now sinking into a low murmur, and now rising into a kind of nervous and violent vociferation. All this, we should have been willing to confess, is necessarily ridiculous to none but those who are strangers to it, if we had not perceived by

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the pamphlets under review, that it is regarded with mortification by many of those who have been, as it were, dyed in the very element of the system from their infancy and youth.

Owing to the rapidity of uttering the liturgy, it is generally finished in about three hours, though we are informed in an appendix to the 'Constitution of the Reformed Society of Israelites,' that if it were conducted with due solemnity, and in a slow, distinct, impressive tone, its length would certainly occupy the attention of the congregation from nine until two o'clock, if not later. During its repetition, the members of the congregation, except a few of the most devout, are seen coming in and going out of the synagogue at all times, and but a very slight check seems to be imposed upon the usual inclinations of the children. There is nothing in the shape of a discourse, or religious instruction of any kind, except, we believe, on a very few annual or occasional festivals. At these solemnities, some enlightened member of the body is called upon to deliver an appropriate English discourse.

We ought to remark, that that part of the liturgy, which consists in reading the portion of the laws, called the *Parasah*, is generally well read, devoutly, and emphatically. The rest of the service corresponds to the description given above.

In the hope of remedying these and other defects and improprieties, as they appeared to them, about a dozen members of the Hebrew congregation in Charleston, South Carolina, about a year since assembled and formed the Society, to which allusion has already been made. In two months, their number swelled to thirtyeight, and at the moment when we are writing, it exceeds fifty. Of the general character of the leading individuals, it may be sufficient to remark, that it is highly respectable. A petition was signed by fortyseven Israelites of Charleston, and presented to the vestry of the congregation. The following extracts will exhibit the principal objects of the memorialists.

'"Your memorialists seek no other end, than the future welfare and respectability of the nation. As members of the great family of Israel, they cannot consent to place before their children examples, which are only calculated to darken the mind, and withhold from the rising generation, the more rational means of worshipping the true God.

'"It is to this, therefore, your memorialists would, in the first place, invite the serious attention of your honorable body. By

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causing the *Hasan*, or reader, to *repeat* in English, such part of the Hebrew prayers as may be deemed necessary, it is confidently believed, that the congregation, generally, would be more forcibly impressed with the necessity of divine worship, and the moral obligations, which they owe to themselves and their Creator; while such a course would lead to more decency and decorum during the time they are engaged in the performance of religious duties. It is not every one who has the means, and many have not the time, to acquire a knowledge of the Hebrew language, and consequently to become enlightened in the principles of Judaism. What, then, is the course pursued in all religious societies, for the purpose of disseminating the peculiar tenets of their faith among the poor and uninformed?

'"The principles of their religion are expounded to them from the pulpit in language that they understand; for instance, in the Catholic, the German, and the French Protestant churches; by this means the ignorant part of mankind attend their places of worship with some profit to their morals, and even improvement to their minds; they return from them with hearts turned to piety, and with feelings elevated by their sacred character. In this consists the beauty of religion; when men are invoked by its divine spirit, to the practice of virtue and morality."

'"With regard to such parts of the service as it is desired should undergo this change, your memorialists would strenuously recommend, that the most solemn portions be retained, and everything superfluous excluded; and that the principal parts, and, if possible, all that is read in *Hebrew*, should also be read in *English* (that being the language of the country), so as to enable every member of the congregation fully to understand each part of the service. In submitting this article of our memorial to the consideration of your honorable body, your memorialists are well aware of the difficulties with which they must contend, before they will be enabled to accomplish this desirable end; but while they would respectfully invite the attention of your honorable body to this part of their memorial, they desire to rest the propriety and expediency of such a measure, solely upon the *reason* by which it may be maintained."

'"Your memorialists would next call the particular attention of your honorable body, to the absolute necessity of *abridging* the service generally. They have reflected seriously upon its present length, and are confident, that this is one of the principal causes why so much of it is hastily and improperly hurried over."

'"According to the present mode of reading the Parasa, (Pentateuch) it affords to the hearer neither instruction nor entertainment, unless he be competent to read, as well as *comprehend*,

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the Hebrew language. But if, like all other ministers, our reader would make a chapter or verse the subject of an English discourse, once a week, at the expiration of the year the people would, at all events, know something of that religion, which at present they so little regard."

'The foregoing paragraphs express the principal objects asked for in the "Memorial," signed by fortyseven Israelites of Charleston; and which was rejected by the Vestry, without discussion, or the right of appeal!' *Appendix to the Discourse*, pp. 33, 34.

This petition being rejected, the memorialists proceeded to organize themselves into a more regular form, and drew up the 'Constitution' of their society.* Still further to develope their wishes and views, we here extract a few of the articles.

'As soon as this Society finds itself able, it will educate a youth or youths of the Jewish persuasion classically in the English, Latin, and Hebrew languages, so as to render him or them fully competent to perform divine service, not only with ability, learning, and dignity, but also according to the true spirit of Judaism, for which this Institution was formed; and in the meanwhile, this Society will adopt and support, as soon as practicable, any person so qualified for the sacred office.'

'It shall be the primary object of this Institution to devise ways and means, from time to time, of revising and altering such parts of our prevailing system of worship, as are inconsistent with the present enlightened state of society, and not in accordance with the Five Books of Moses and the Prophets.'

'There shall be annually elected from among the resident members a committee of five, entitled a Committee of Correspondence, for the purpose of conferring and corresponding, at all times, when it shall be deemed necessary by said Committee, or a majority thereof, with the several congregations, or respectable individuals, or sections of Jews throughout the United States, Europe, or elsewhere, as to any assistance or cooperation, which they may be disposed to afford this Society in its future operations.'

'Any Hebrew, having attained his seventeenth year, and desirous of becoming a member of this Society, shall make application by letter addressed to the president and members. *Constitution*, pp. 4, 5.

It appears from the foregoing extracts, that the standard of separation is not as yet actually raised. Should the society fail

* The society was incorporated at the last session of the South Carolina Legislature.

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of effecting the reformation in the *synagogue*, which they have at heart, it is understood, that their purpose is, by making personal sacrifices, and by soliciting subscriptions, to erect a new temple in Charleston, and to worship God in the manner which their consciences approve. They still hope, however, to escape this painful alternative, and by patience and reasoning, to prevail with the constituted authority, as well as the majority of the congregation, so that they may acquiesce in a peaceable, and at least partial improvement. How far innovation will eventually go, when once positively begun, we are unable to conjecture. We have heard it vaguely suggested, beside other things, that the new reformers among the Jews, both in this country and in Europe, have it in contemplation to remove their Sabbath forward one day, so as to make it coincide with the day of rest of the Christian. But nothing of the kind is hinted at in the documents before us, nor does it come from any authentic source of information with which we are acquainted.

Wishing for some details of information to present to our readers, respecting the existing state of this interesting people, we applied for materials to the author of the Discourse under review. They were promptly and kindly furnished; but although they were intended as materials, and nothing more, we are persuaded the reader will be much more gratified with them in their original form, than if manufactured and moulded over anew by the reviewer's toil. We give them, therefore, as follows, with very slight modifications.

'The number of the Jews in the United States it is difficult to arrive at with any precision. Such are the influences of habit and time, that while in the *old world*, under innumerable exactions and disqualifications, there are *six millions* of Israelites, there are, in these happy United States, not more than *six thousand*. I arrive at this conclusion, rather from comparative corollaries, than from any given and accurate *data*. Neither Ramsay, Mellish, Morse, Bellamy, nor any other writer, pretending to *enumerate* various religious classes, has thrown one spark of light upon the subject. In the New England States there cannot be more than three or four hundred in all; in Pennsylvania, about that number; in New York, about nine hundred and fifty; in Virginia, about four hundred; in North Carolina, about four hundred; in South Carolina, about one thousand and two hundred; in Georgia, about four hundred; in Florida, thirty or forty; in Louisiana, about one hundred;

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and making a large allowance for the scattered and unknown, I think six thousand the *maximum*.

'Emigration is not so great now as it was formerly, except to New York. South Carolina had formerly the largest number of emigrant Israelites. Charleston alone had a congregation of six hundred. I think that Charleston has been stationary, in this respect, for the last twenty years, and that the city of New York certainly equals it, and soon will double it.

'Men, who reflect, go anywhere in pursuit of happiness. The immediate ancestors of the most respectable Jews in these United States came, some for the purposes of commerce, others for the more noble love of liberty, and the majority for both. In Georgia and in South Carolina, several honorably bore arms in the revolutionary war. My maternal grandfather contributed pecuniary aid to South Carolina, and particularly to Charleston, when besieged by the British. My father in law was a brave grenadier in the regular American army, and fought and bled for the liberty he lived to enjoy, and to hand down to his children. Numerous instances of patriotism are recorded of such Israelites.

'As to the descent of the Jews of the United States, they are principally German and English; though South Carolina has a portion of French and Portuguese. My ancestors came originally from Barbary, where my father's father enjoyed a post of honor in the palace of the emperor of Morocco, that of Royal Lapidary. He fled to England, and married an Italian lady. My father left England for Jamaica before he was twenty years of age. He afterwards settled in Charleston, and I think I may say, was among the first to set an example to his Jewish brethren, of giving a liberal education to their children.

'The synagogue in Charleston was built in 5555, *anno lucis* (Biblical, or rather Hebrew chronology, for both the Septuagint reckoning and the Newtonian differ from that of the Jews), corresponding to 1794 of the Christian era. The congregation had previously a small place of worship.* The society, which

* According to Dr Shecut's Topography of Charleston, the Israelites assembled as a religious society in that city, some time in the year 1750. As soon as ten men could assemble (which the Hebrew law requires for public worship), they provided themselves with a place, as suitable as their then slender means could command. They have at present an elegant and spacious edifice.

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belongs to the synagogue, is called *Kahl Kadosh Beth Eloim*, 'The religious society of the house of God.' *Kahl*, or 'Society,' is the name of every Hebrew congregation. The present number of subscribing members to the Kahl Kadosh is about seventy, making upwards of three hundred persons, who are entitled to the religious immunities of the synagogue. The Reformed Society have fifty members, making with their families upwards of two hundred dissenters. The Jews born in Carolina are mostly of our way of thinking on the subject of worship, and act from a tender regard for the opinions and feelings of their parents, in not joining the society.

'The principal points aimed at by the reformers, are order and decency in worship, harmony and beauty in chanting, the inculcation of morality and charitable sentiments upon individuals, and the promotion of piety towards the Deity. In these things, the Society believes, consist religion, virtue, and happiness; in these, the salvation of every rational and immortal being.

'Although in France the rich Jews, generally, have little or no religion, yet in Bourdeaux the Israelites have built a handsome temple, sing with taste and music, preserve great decency and order, and have a portion of the liturgy in French. I have not been able to ascertain whether they sit *covered* or not. But I perfectly recollect being told, by competent authority, that the worship was solemn, affecting, and engaging.

'In Germany, where the civil (Christian) authorities interposed to prohibit several exceptionable ceremonies and practices, it was done at the request of enlightened Israelites.'

It is now time to notice Mr Harby's Discourse. The author is honorably known in the fields of literature, having published a successful tragedy, entitled *Alberti*, of which the style is more than commonly chaste, and the structure betokens no small dramatic ability. He for some time edited, in an able and indefatigable manner, one of the four daily papers in Charleston; another being conducted also by a gentleman of the same religious denomination, distinguished for the solidity and extent of his views in political economy, and occasionally by the felicity of his literary criticisms. Mr Harby's discourse will much increase his reputation. It is conceived in a fine spirit, and executed in a manner altogether worthy of the occasion. There is a solemnity, and a conscientious fixedness and elevation of purpose, apparent in the author's views. He has all the ardor and confidence of a reformer, to whom obstacles are stimulants

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rather than discouragements. Though, in the capacity of an Israelite, he betrays a becoming sympathetic indignation for the past sufferings of his brethren, yet he seems to feel, that the name of American is rather a more precious patronymic, than one of antique and foreign origin. Cherishing a bitter hatred against the cruel excesses of spurious Christianity, he still has the candor and discrimination to separate it from the genuine spirit and precepts of the gospel. His passion for Christian literature, and susceptibility to the beauty of true Christian feeling, have softened his hereditary prejudices, but not affected his hereditary principles. He is a firm 'Jew inwardly,' but is willing to accommodate the 'Jew outwardly' to the conciliatory, compensating, and sacrificing spirit of the age. Some extracts shall justify our encomiums.

The following are the professed objects of the new society.

'What is it we seek? The establishment of a new sect? No; never. Let other systems of religion split into a thousand schisms; let other modes of faith present to your eyes the motley scene at which philosophy may smile, and true piety must weep; brethren, instructed in a religion of mercy, warring against each other by the arm of flesh, and the weapons of theological pride. Let these examples of human error be seen in other religions; but it is the glory and test of the Jewish faith, that its followers worship ONE GOD; that when they raise their hands to veil their eyes, and repeat, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is ONE," they regard only the God of their fathers, the Lord of all creation, the supreme Jehovah. This be your boast, this be your bond of union.

'What is it, then, we ask of the Hebrew Vestry? The abolition of the ancient language and form of Jewish worship? Far from it. Those, who have thoughtlessly opposed our efforts, are well aware, that neither in the petition, which first convened this respectable assemblage of Israelites, nor in the constitution, which grew out of the rejection of that petition, unheard and uncanvassed, and which constitution stands at once the monument of your firmness and your moderation, was any such abolition contemplated. They well knew, that every prayer, every ceremony, calculated to add dignity to external worship, and warmth to true devotion, was the ardent wish of the members who compose your society. Our desire is to yield everything to the feelings of the truly pious Israelite; but to take away everything that might excite the disgust of the well informed Israelite. To throw away Rabbinical interpolations; to avoid useless repetitions; to read or chant with solemnity; to recite such portions of the Pentateuch and the prophets,

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as custom and practice have appointed to be read in the *original Hebrew;* but to follow such selections with a translation in *English,* and a lecture or discourse upon the law, explanatory of its meaning, edifying to the young, gratifying to the old, and instructive to every age and every class of society. Is this abolishing our mode of *sacred* worship? Is this sapping the foundations of our venerable faith? No, my friends; this is stripping it of foreign and unseemly ceremonies; divesting it of rubbish, and beautifying that simple Doric column, that primeval order of architecture, which raises its plain but massy head amid the ruins of time, and the desolation of empires!' *Discourse,* pp. 5—7.

The past character of modern Israelites is thus rapidly vindicated.

'After the destruction of Jerusalem, our ancestors, though all political union was dissolved, were not unmindful of the promises of God, of the preservation of their name, their nation, and their religion. They still retained some patriarchs in Judea, and what they denominated Princes of the Captivity in the East. Wherever they were tolerated, they established colleges, and instituted various orders of learned men. They have mainly upheld and disseminated the beautiful institutions of Masonry, that universal link of brotherhood. Mindful of the word of God, and convinced of the unity of the Godhead, they have never been seduced from their allegiance to the supreme ONE. The manifold oppressions inflicted on their unprotected heads, have never caused them to apostatize [from] their religion. They exhibit the picture of a people scattered over the whole earth by the winds of heaven, divided from each other by interminable oceans and trackless deserts, yet preserving and venerating the religion, the customs, the antique simplicity, the language, and character of their ancestors, after a lapse of nearly eighteen hundred years!

'Did my limits permit, or my subject require it, my respected auditors, I might carry you with me over those inhospitable climes, those despotic countries trod by the bleeding feet of this selected race, in their pilgrimage through a hostile world. Even during such a recital, I might find subjects for your admiration. I might speak of their academies, and of their eminent men; of their mathematical knowledge; of those sages who have done more for the Jewish name, than all the power and conquests of antiquity; of their experiments in chemistry, which science they so materially advanced; not merely analytical chemistry, but what they pursued with the most ardent passion, synthetical chemistry, in which their combinations were so admirable, that many of the Jewish doctors fell under the suspicion of being pos-

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sessed of the *grand arcanum.* This is the secret of the philosopher's stone, by which every metal is to be transmuted into gold. The elixir, by which this precious revolution is to be accomplished, was believed also to have the power of curing every disease (like some celestial julep), and to confer youth and immortality on the man who knew the *synthesis*, and who, cleansed by abstinence and prayer from every *terrene* incumbrance, would patiently watch for "*the flame which wrapped the sacred birth in the bed of purification.*" Such was the extravagance of credulity. A proof at once of the mingled admiration and awe, with which the vulgar regard extraordinary learning, or striking experiments.

'The Jews and Arabs, in the middle ages, became the physicians of Europe, and the confidants of princes. A Jewish physician has been charged with poisoning Charles the Bald; the king's death, however, is due to more royal hands. But Voltaire remarks, "What must have been the ignorance of Christendom at that period, when kings were obliged to send in search of physicians amongst the Jews and Arabs!"* And it may now be added, what might still have been the ignorance of Christendom, if the Jews and Arabs had refused to come!' pp. 17—19.

The following is at once eloquent and piquant.

'But a remnant has escaped. The celestial fire was not all extinguished. With what pride and pleasure must the happy few who composed our immediate forefathers; the happy few, who were sufficiently enlightened to leave oppression, and go in quest of liberty; with what indescribable sensations must these pilgrims of the world have hailed the dawn of freedom, as it illumined the Western horizon. Here they have found a refuge and a home; in this happy land, where nature is profuse in all that can administer to the physical wants and pleasures of her creatures; where, after a few years' residence, they enjoy the rights of men; and where the birthright of ourselves, their children, is equal liberty. Where is he that does not feel a glow of honest exultation, when he hears himself called an American? Who that does not offer praise and thanksgiving to Providence, for the contrast of what man *is* in these United States, and what he *is* under almost every other government? Thus appreciating, thus enjoying the natural and political blessings of our country, we are willing to repose in the belief, that America truly is the land of promise spoken of in our ancient Scriptures; that this is the region to which the children of Israel, if they are wise, will hasten to come. Not to some stony desert, or marshy island, or inhospitable clime, do we invite

* Voltaire, Hist. Gen. tom. i.

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them. We point out no fixed spot for cultivation, or for peace. Let them, and the oppressed of all mankind, take their free choice. They leave behind no paradise, as did our first parents; they rather approach a garden of plenty and variety; where protection is above and around them; and whence the flaming sword of the cherubim has been withdrawn. Let them approach; in coming to America,

> The world is all before them, where to choose
> Their place of rest, and Providence their guide.

'Let them select the city or the plain; the commerce beaten shores of the Atlantic, or the rich wilderness of nature, that spreads its prodigality throughout the West, presenting incitements to enterprise and stores of wealth, uncounted, unsurveyed, immeasurable.' pp. 26—28.

The peroration is yet more elevated.

'But, be the promised land what it may; whether new Jerusalem mean old Judea, renovated and blessed by the munificence of heaven; or whether, with Chrysostom, we take it to signify the city of God, happiness hereafter; yet are we contented, while we remain on earth in this temporal state, to live in America; to share the blessings of liberty; to partake of, and to add to her political happiness, her power, and her glory; to educate our children liberally; to make them useful, and enlightened, and honest citizens; to look upon our countrymen as brethren of the same happy family, worshipping the same God of the universe, though, perhaps, differing in forms and opinions. We are contented and happy thus to act, and we hope and trust we act rightly and virtuously, until the annunciation of the Messiah shall reunite us into one nation, offering with all mankind, in the name of the universal Father, our common sacrifice on one common altar. Whether that annunciation be made this hour, or thousands of ages hence, let us, in the name of that Being, who out of the depths heard the voice of his people, and brought them into salvation; that Being, who created all men for happiness, and light, and truth; let us, in his name, live in friendship with each other, and in charity with all mankind. In the words of him, whose powers of harmony could exorcise the evil spirit from men's bosoms, "Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity! It is like the dew of Hermon, and the dew that descended upon the mountains of Zion; for there the LORD commanded the blessing, even life for evermore."' pp. 31, 32.

There is a display of not unappropriate learning in the notes.

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and something of the same in the text. No part of the pamphlet appears to us liable to severe criticism. Perhaps there is a slight approach to mysticism on the subject of alchemy, and once or twice the style is a little more mounting, than suits our frigid northern taste. The author claims D'Israeli as an Israelite. His ancestors were such, but, if we are not mistaken, that prodigious book devourer is a decided advocate for the claims of Jesus of Nazareth.

It would be but fair to state, that Mr Harby's immediate opponents complain of him as wishing to expunge from the Jewish rituals a large portion of the Rabbinical contributions, which they contend are intrinsically valuable, besides being regarded as sacred, from long and reverent use. They further complain, that his party understand nothing of Hebrew, and so are unqualified to judge respecting the propriety or impropriety of any part of the ritual. This last conclusion may be true, but surely it only goes strongly to justify the demands of the reformers, to have the ritual translated, and employed in English. Then, if there be any beauty and merit in the Rabbinical illustrations, it would undoubtedly be perceived and appreciated, and cheerfully adopted.

After all, while our own habits and prejudices incline us to wish success to the new school of Jewish reform, we must not forget that there is something, which deserves our respect in the strenuous opposition it has to encounter. The existing institutions of this singular and interesting people are consecrated by tender and solemn associations of antiquity, and by affecting remembrances of the many sufferings, toils, and struggles of the Israelites of past ages. We do not wonder, that affection clings to those institutions as to the tabernacle, which accompanied the wanderers of old through the wilderness. But as the tabernacle itself was at length disused, and gave place to the glory, convenience, and beauty of the stationary temple, so we cannot but be persuaded, that the spirit of the age, like the voice of Jehovah, will gently and irresistibly convert the present synagogue, with its obsolete ceremonials, its unintelligible language, and its alleged unimpressive influences, into a more rational sanctuary, to which the understandings of ten thousands of votaries shall eagerly resort to be strengthened and enlightened, and their hearts to be warmed, consoled, and purified.

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ART. V.—1. *De verâ Naturâ atque Indole Orationis Græcæ Novi Testamenti Commentatio*, Auctore HENRICO PLANCK. Goettingen. 1810. [Reprinted in the *Commentationes Theologicæ*. Leipzig. 1825.]

2. *Clavis Novi Testamenti Philologica, Usibus Scholarum et Juvenum Theologiæ studiosorum accommodata*, Auctore M. CHRIST. ABRAHAMO WAHL, etc. Lipsiæ. 1822. 8vo.

3. *Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms*, u. s. w. Von GEORG BENEDICT WINER, der Theologie Doctor und Ausserordentlichem Professor an der Universität zu Leipzig. Leipzig. 1822.

4. *Lexicon manuale Græco-Latinum in Libros Novi Testamenti*, Auctore CAROLO GOTTLEIB BRETSCHNEIDER, Theologiæ et Philosophiæ Doctor, etc. Lipsiæ. 1824. 8vo.

5. *A Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament*, from the *Clavis Philologica* of C. A. WAHL, late Senior Pastor of Schneeberg, now Superintendent of Oschaz, Saxony. By EDWARD ROBINSON, A. M. Assistant Instructer in the Department of Sacred Literature, Theol. Sem. Andover. 1825. 8vo. pp. 852.

6. *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament*, translated from the German of G. B. WINER, Professor of Theology at Erlangen. By MOSES STUART and EDWARD ROBINSON. Andover. 1825. 8vo. pp. 176.

THE progress of Sacred Literature in this country, has, of late, been rapid. Fifteen years ago there were few facilities for the pursuit of it; and a good apparatus for this department of study was a thing almost unknown, and altogether unattainable. For the literature of the Old Testament, there was here and there a copy of the Hebrew Lexicons of Parkhurst and Simonis, and occasionally, perhaps, some of an earlier date. Some of the older Hebrew grammars were also to be found; of which Buxtorf's was far the best. But a knowledge of the Hebrew language was confined to a few individuals; and in those schools where it was professedly taught, it was practically accounted as of secondary importance; was studied without the points; and was seldom pursued beyond the elementary

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principles. The New Testament, in its original tongue, was an object of more general attention, because the Greek language was taught to a considerable extent in all our seminaries. But it was studied just like the Greek of Homer or Xenophon; as forming a constituent part of the national Greek literature, which has descended to us; with little or no reference to the peculiar character of its style and composition; and with a disregard of all those circumstances of time, place, manners, and opinions, which combined to produce that character. This, however, was no more than was to be expected; since almost the only means of pursuing the study of the New Testament, were those which were common to the whole circle of Grecian literature. The helps adapted exclusively to this object were very rare. Even the work of Parkhurst was seldom to be met with; and scattered copies of the Lexicon of Schleusner were just beginning to find their way into the country.

So far as it regards apparatus for biblical study, the times are now changed. The important results of the labors of Gesenius in Hebrew grammar have been condensed, and improved, and spread before our countrymen in the Grammar of Professor Stuart; while the valuable Hebrew Lexicon of the same author has also been translated by Mr Gibbs. Among the scholars of the continent of Europe, these works have taken the place of all others on these subjects; and they are now as accessible to the students of this country, as to those of Germany. We have also in our own language treatises on Sacred Interpretation and Jewish Antiquities; while other books of a similar kind, and the latest and best Commentaries on both the Old and New Testaments, are beginning to be extensively circulated. Within the last year, the same press which has hitherto taken the lead in publications of this sort, has presented us with the two works, whose titles stand last at the head of this article; and which, in some measure, complete the circle of elementary books necessary for the prosecution of biblical literature.

We would not be understood to say, that the advances made among us in this department of study are yet so great or so general, as those which have been made on the continent of Europe. There are among our countrymen, doubtless, individuals, whose profound researches, and extensive acquisitions in the particular branches to which they have given their attention, may well vie with those of the celebrated philologists of the other continent; but the shortness of the time, which has yet

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elapsed, and the nature of the demands upon that class of our youth, who alone can be expected to devote themselves to these pursuits, forbid us to suppose, that such should be the general character of those who have as yet embarked in them. It is to the clergy, that we must principally look for the successful cultivation of this species of literature; and it is hardly necessary to remark, that the life of active and laborious exertion, to which most of them are called at the present day, is ill adapted to that extensive progress in any department, which is usually the result only of long and painful effort directed to a single point, and carried on in retirement from the bustle of the world, and without the pressure of those claims of active and public duty, which, in the case before us, are paramount to every other. We do, however, mean to say, that a redeeming spirit on this subject has gone abroad in the land, which, at no distant day, will lead to the best and highest results. We mean to say, that among our clergy, and indeed among all classes of the community, the impression is strongly and most justly gaining ground, that the Bible is the sufficient and only rule of faith and practice; that it is, and should be regarded as the only foundation of all Christian theology; and that, therefore, the study of the Bible is, and ought to be, the first and the great object of a theological education. The obvious tendency of views and feelings like these, is to urge men onward in the cultivation of those languages, in which the sacred records were originally delivered, and to the investigation of all those circumstances in the history, and character, and customs of the people, to whom they were first addressed, which may be supposed to have had an influence upon the form and character of the records themselves.

The day, we trust, has passed away, in which the body of our clergy will remain contented to receive their knowledge respecting our sacred books, through the medium of mere translations, or on the authority of commentators. The spirit of the Reformation is again at work; the rights of private judgment, and the necessity of free and personal investigation, are beginning to be felt on this subject, as they long have been on all others; and if these be exercised with proper dispositions, the results cannot but be most auspicious. We are not of the number of those, who fear the consequences of the closest scrutiny, or the most profound researches, into either the nature, or history, or interpretation of the records of our religion. We believe the truths, which these records reveal, will shine with purer lustre,

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when the veil of ignorance, by which they are yet in a measure shrouded, shall have been still farther removed. We know, indeed, that there are those, who are doubtless conscientious in the adoption of different views; and who regard with alarm all those efforts of critical acumen, that lead to results in any shape different from those received modes of interpretation, which, originally adopted perhaps without sufficient evidence, have been handed down from generation to generation, without question or examination. Such persons are, no doubt, conscientious in their motives; but it does appear to us, that they are alarmed at a shadow, which their own experience has not enabled them to distinguish from a substance; and that their motives, if traced to the ultimate source of them, will be found to rest on nothing better than the Papal maxim, that 'ignorance is the mother of devotion.' It was the glory of the Reformation, that it reversed this maxim, and strove to found a more enlightened system of faith and worship on the unlimited diffusion of knowledge; and we hope it will be the glory of this country to exhibit proof of the Protestant maxim in its full extent, as applied to the study of the Scriptures.

To those who have reflected on the subject, it cannot but be evident, that an *intimate* acquaintance with these oracles of our religion, can be acquired only by an attentive study of the originals. The great outlines of divine truth are indeed so prominent and obvious, that no version, however inadequate, can entirely conceal them from view; so that even in the worst translation, there may yet be found all that is essential to salvation. In this secondary form of translation, too, the great body of Christians in every country must necessarily be content to receive the Scriptures. But they who are to be the teachers of religion; who are expected to be become familiar with the word of life, that they may illustrate its power, and enforce its application upon their fellow men; ought never to rest satisfied with the imperfect knowledge, which can be acquired through the medium of versions. To the Jewish nation, the Scriptures presented, as it were, the reality of the scenes, and persons, and events, to which they relate, existing in all their freshness, and beauty, and strength, and in the living hues of nature. To us they are like the same scenes, and persons, and events exhibited in a magnificent painting. The life and soul must necessarily be wanting; but if we can, in a measure, transport ourselves back to the circumstances of the Jews; if we can speak as they

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spoke, and read as they read, and feel as they felt; we may raise our eyes and behold the painting, glowing with beauty and expression, and rich in graceful forms and brilliant coloring. Without such preparation, without this Jewish power and Jewish feeling, we cannot attain to such a view; our eyes will rest only upon those outlines of the forms and scenes, which are suspended as a key beneath the picture, and which, of course, are destitute of coloring, of costume, of the minuter features, and comparatively of expression. Such, in a degree, must the Bible be to those who read it only in a version. They cannot fully appreciate its power, and majesty, and simplicity; because they have never viewed it in the only light, which presents these qualities in their own bold relief. They cannot well, as teachers, cause it to produce on others the full effects of its power; because they have not fully felt that power themselves. As well might the missionary to heathen lands, renounce the idea of acquiring their languages, and spend his life in making his annunciations by the mouth of an interpreter. Why does he, at the very first, set himself to become familiar with their tongues? In order, assuredly, that he may communicate directly with them; that thus he may impart to his instructions more force, more energy, more power, by adapting them to those modes of thought, and feeling, and expression, to which those whom he addresses are accustomed, and through which only can he hope to produce upon them any vivid or permanent impression. Why, then, should not our teachers of religion, first of all, resort to the original Scriptures? Their case, indeed, is the converse of that of the missionary; but the reasons which hold good in the one, have a still stronger bearing on the other; inasmuch as the Scriptures are the ultimate fountain, from which all must draw.

While we thus urge attention to the study of the original Scriptures, it is proper to remark, that there are circumstances in our situation, which must necessarily modify our views, and direct our efforts to particular portions, rather than the whole field, of sacred literature. Our country is, in all repects, a new world; and while, on the one hand, we have no remains of ancient cities, no 'cloud capt towers and gorgeous palaces,' as memorials of former splendor and departed greatness; so, on the other, the literature which our fathers brought with them, and which has since come over to us, is all in books. We have no manuscripts, venerable for their antiquity and authority. We

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have no immense public libraries, where books, and manuscripts, and dust have been accumulating for ages. So far, then, as the correction of the sacred text is concerned, we are without instruments wherewith to work; and cannot therefore hope, in this respect, to make additions to the stock of knowledge. We must here depend on the results furnished by the labors of our European brethren, who have all the materials exclusively in their own hands. Why then should we spend our time, and waste our strength, to delve in the dust of *minor* criticism, while the way is open before us in all that relates to the general literature and interpretation of the Scriptures? We have materials, or have ready access to them, for the illustration of the language and history of the Bible, the character and antiquities and opinions of the nation to whom it was first given, the doctrines and duties which it prescribes, and the practices which it prohibits. Here, in the walks of *higher* criticism, is a field sufficiently extensive for the exercise of all our powers; a field, which will afford an ample return of precious fruits, and more than recompense all the toil, which the most intense enthusiasm may bestow upon it.

We turn from the discussion of this general topic, to that branch of it which we had more especially in view, when we sat down to write this article. Our purpose is, in connexion with the general subject, to offer some remarks on the character of the language in which the New Testament is written; and to specify some of those branches of study, which seem to be requisite for the full understanding and correct interpretation of that sacred volume.

It is not our intention to enter here into the details of the famous controversy on the purity of the Greek idiom of the New Testament, which, from the days of Henry Stephens (1576) to the time of Blackwall (1727), or perhaps of Palairet (1752), exercised the ingenuity, and employed the pens of most of the learned theologians of the old world; and which, like many other disputes, soon became rather a strife about words, than a discussion about things; a contest for victory, rather than an inquiry after truth. The controversy would seem to have arisen, in a great measure, from that idea of *optimism*, which is very commonly associated with the sacred text, and which attaches perfection, in the absolute sense of the word, to every part and portion of that text. If the Bible be the word of God, it must be free from all defects. If the New Testament was given

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from God in Greek, it must have been given in the best possible Greek, the pure, unadulterated Attic; for this was the standard of the language; and any departures from it, whether Doricisms, or Latinisms, or Hebraisms, were all barbarisms, and therefore to be condemned as imperfections and blemishes, utterly inconsistent with the divine original of the volume. This view was supported and defended with the utmost pertinacity; and when facts, undeniable facts, were brought in opposition to it; when it was abundantly shown, that the New Testament contained many words and phrases which were literal translations of Hebrew idioms, and many constructions, which were of ordinary occurrence only in the Hebrew tongue; so far from admitting the validity of the argument drawn from these facts, which in themselves could not be questioned, the other party ransacked the whole circle of Grecian literature to find instances of like phrases and constructions. Just as if, even had the search always been successful, it could be supposed, that the unlearned writers of the gospels, where these Hebraisms prevail most, had derived such idioms from the classic language of the Greek writers, of whom they knew nothing, rather than from the daily usage of their own vernacular tongue.

At the present day, the ground, as stated above, on which the Attic purity of the style of the New Testament was to be supported, appears sufficiently amusing; we might say, perhaps, absurd; were it not, that the same idea of optimism is still very generally connected with the Bible in many other particulars, not more essential or important than purity of style. It was the same feeling, that the Scriptures must be immaculate, which at first took alarm, and denounced all attempts to collect the various readings, that are found in them, as having a direct tendency to prove the Scriptures imperfect, and therefore undeserving of our highest confidence. This, in fact, was extending the idea of perfection, so as to include not only God and his word, and render them immaculate, but also every transcriber and printer of the Bible, since it was first given. In this connexion, we might go farther, and say, that it is the same idea of optimism, which still influences those who hold to the plenary *verbal* inspiration of the sacred records; who assert that every phrase and every word was directly *suggested* to the mind of the writer by the agency of the Spirit; and assign the same lofty and overpowering influence to Paul, when he directs Timothy to 'bring with him the cloak,' as they do to Isaiah, when, rapt in ecstatic

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vision, he announces the future triumphs of the Messiah's reign.

Time and the power of indisputable facts have, at length, settled many of these questions; and no one any longer feels alarm at the thousands of various readings in the Bible, nor at the many departures from Attic purity, which are found in the diction of the New Testament. It will ultimately be the same, we trust, with all other questions of a similar nature. As the language of Greece has been more cultivated, and the genuine character of it more clearly understood, it has been seen, that Grecian literature comprehends in itself a wide range of style and expression, extending from the polished elegance of Plato and the Attic sweetness of Xenophon, to the antique forms of Homer on the one hand, and to the later and less pure idiom of Polybius and Herodian on the other. Hence the question in regard to the New Testament became of less importance, when it was apparent that the peculiarities charged upon it, whatever they might be, rendered it not much more unlike the language of the best ages of Greece, than was the style of many of their own writers. At present, all critics seem to have settled down in the same general views; and the following remarks may be considered as exhibiting an outline of the prevailing opinion on this subject.

Whatever may have been the source whence the Greek language derived its origin, it is well known, that, during the most flourishing ages of the Grecian republics, each separate state had its own peculiar dialect. When, under Philip of Macedon, these several republics were, in fact, if not in name, subdued and united under one government; and intercourse between the different parts of the country became more frequent; the several dialects also became by degrees amalgamated into one common language, in which that of Macedonia would naturally have a certain predominance. Still more was such an amalgamation promoted under the reign of Alexander. His armies were composed of men enlisted from every quarter of Greece, who were thus brought into permanent contact, and would hence gradually lose their peculiarity of dialect. The cities and colonies that he founded, were filled with inhabitants collected in a similar manner, whose association would naturally produce similar results. These remarks apply, of course, more particularly to the colloquial language of ordinary life. The language of books, for a time, was less affected. As Athens had long

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held a sort of supremacy in Greece, and was still regarded with high veneration as the seat of elegant literature and arts; so, when the other dialects fell into disuse, her polished and graceful diction became the standard of the written language, and nominally maintained that rank for several centuries. But the causes which affected the style of colloquial discourse, could not fail to operate indirectly upon that of books, and, in no long time, to produce departures from Attic purity. The language thus formed, varying in purity and elegance according to the country, the education, and the taste of different writers; but still inferior to the genuine Attic, and degenerating more and more in the lapse of years, was that which is termed by the grammarians *the common dialect*, ἡ κοινὴ διάλεκτος, and was current in those later periods of Greek literature, when the books of the New Testament were written. At a yet later date, the language degenerated still further into the Byzantine dialect, and has ultimately come down to our days in the form of the Romaic or Modern Greek.

But besides this natural progress of deterioration, the Greek language, so far as our subject is connected with it, was subjected to the influence of another cause of a similar nature, and of not less power. In the cities founded by Alexander, were collected inhabitants of various other countries and tongues, besides those of Greece. The language of the latter, however, was the prevailing one, and was the usual medium of communication in the ordinary transactions of business and of life. It is obvious, therefore, that those inhabitants and sojourners to whom Greek was not vernacular, would be compelled to acquire it; and it is no less apparent, that the Greek thus acquired from daily communication with others, and not from books, must have been the colloquial Greek, mingled at the same time with many words and forms of expression borrowed from the native language of the speaker. Especially was this the case at Alexandria, and with reference to the Jews. That city soon became the emporium of the world, and was thronged with foreigners from all the nations of the earth. Under the Ptolemies, it became the seat of the later literature, and science, and philosophy of the Greeks; though the language as spoken there, notwithstanding some peculiar forms, does not appear to have so far differed from the *common* Greek, as to merit the appellation of a distinct dialect. This city was a favorite place of resort to the Jews; of whom at least ten thousand are said to have been numbered among its inhabitants. Here was made, at an early period, the

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Greek version of the Scriptures by the Seventy, which displays, in a remarkable manner, the influence of a vernacular tongue on the words and phrases of another language, partially acquired. Of that version some books, no doubt, are given in a style not far remote from the best Greek of that day; while others, from the hands of translators less skilled in Greek, adhere closely to the very letter of the Hebrew, and hence exhibit many strange anomalies of language.

What was thus true in an eminent degree of Alexandria, was also, in a measure, the case with the other cities of Egypt and of Asia Minor. In all these the prevailing tongue was Greek; in all of them the Jews were more or less domesticated, and spoke the current language, intermingled with their own idioms. The introduction of Greek into Palestine was later. All the habits and prejudices of the Jews were at war with such an innovation; and it was only stern necessity, arising from the forcible intrusion of foreign domination, and the intercourse of their brethren who flocked from other lands to pay their vows in that city, which brought them to adopt, in any degree, the language of the Gentiles.

There were, then, two principal causes, the operation of which tended to create a departure in the diction of the New Testament from that of the purer ages of the Greek language. The first was the gradual deterioration of the Greek itself; and consisted in the adoption of words and forms of words, belonging to all the different dialects; in giving new significations to words used in the ancient language, as ἀποκρίνεσθαι *to answer* instead of *to separate*, ὀψώνιον *wages* instead of *food*, &c; in giving to many words a different, and often a lengthened form, as ἀνάθεμα *an offering* for ἀνάθημα, ἐκχύνω *to pour out* for ἐκχέω, ἐλεεινὸς *compassionate* for ἔλεινὸς, &c; and in the introduction of new words, mostly by composition, as ἀνθρωπάρεσκος *gratifying men*, αἰχμαλωτίζω *to lead captive*, ἀποκεφαλίζω *to behead*, &c. This later language was particularly rich in substantives ending in μα, in adjectives in ινος, and in verbs terminating in ίζω. It exhibited also a few peculiarities in the forms of nouns and verbs, arising from inflection. The other cause, which operated on the diction of the New Testament, was the vernacular tongue of the writers; which gave rise to words, and phrases, and constructions foreign to the Greek, and borrowed partly from the ancient Hebrew, in which their Scriptures were written, and with which the Jews were familiar; and partly from the Aramæan, or Syro-Chaldaic, which was at

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that time the popular dialect of the Jews in Palestine. All these peculiarities are usually comprehended under the appellation of *Hebraisms*, and are divided by Winer into those which are *perfect*, and those which are *imperfect*. The former consist of such words, phrases, and constructions, as belong exclusively to the Hebrew or Aramæan language, and must therefore have been derived from it. The latter comprise words, phrases, and constructions, which, although they may be found in Greek authors, were probably derived by the writers of the New Testament from the Hebrew or Aramæan. Of the former species, or perfect Hebraisms, are words formed by the Jews after the analogy of certain Hebrew words, as σπλαγχνίζομαι *to have compassion*, which stands in the same relation to σπλάγχνα *bowels* as רֶחֶם to רַחֲמִים; words, which, besides the usual Greek signification, have also another meaning, common to the correspondent words in Hebrew, as ῥῆμα *thing* as well as *word*, like דָּבָר, εἰρήνη *prosperity, happiness*, as well as *peace*, like שָׁלוֹם; and whole phrases, of which, although the words may be found in Greek, yet the connexion is exclusively Hebraistic, as πρόσωπον λαμβάνειν *to accept one's person, to show partiality*, like נָשָׂא פָּנִים, διώκειν τὴν ἀγάπην *to follow after love, to cultivate love*, like רָדַף. Grammatical constructions of this kind are, the use of οὐ πᾶς for οὐδείς, in imitation of the Hebrew לֹא כֹל; the use of ἐνώπιον with a genitive, like לִפְנֵי; the periphrasis with εἰς and its accusative for the nominative, like the Hebrew use of לְ; the form of negative oaths, as εἰ δοθήσεται, like אִם, &c. The other class, or imperfect Hebraisms, are either such constructions as are more frequent in Hebrew than in Greek, as ἅγια ἁγίων *holy of holies* to express the superlative or *most holy;* the use of εἷς *one* for πρῶτος *first*, &c.; or such as are equally common in Greek and Hebrew, but which the writers of the New Testament more probably derived from the latter; as the use of the nominative for the vocative, the omission of the pronoun after transitive verbs, &c.

Besides these two causes, there was also a third, which had a more partial effect upon the style of the New Testament. The Jews were necessarily led to apply the Greek language to subjects, which had never occupied the attention of the Greeks, and to express ideas for which the vocabulary of that tongue afforded no appropriate terms. Hence it became requisite to attach to words already existing a new sense, or to coin new

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words adapted to the exigency. Both of these courses were adopted by the Jews, and especially by the teachers of religion and the writers of the New Testament. Thus, of the former kind, we find πίστις *faith*, ἔργα *works*, &c; and of the latter, προσωποληψία *partiality*, derived from πρόσωπον λαμβάνειν mentioned above.

We have said enough, we trust, to show, that the Greek of the New Testament must necessarily be a very different species of Greek from that which prevailed at Athens in the days of Xenophon and Plato. Standing on this ground, and looking back on the centuries which have rolled away in controversy on this subject, we cannot but view with wonder, and even pain, the strenuous and ill directed efforts lavished in behalf of a cause, which now seems destitute of any sound support, and which in itself is comparatively unimportant. We may, however, be consoled by the reflection, that all these efforts have led to a more radical investigation, both of the New Testament and of the Greek writers, and to a more profound acquaintance with the history and character of the Greek language in all its relations; just as the persevering, though fruitless toil of the Alchemists laid the foundation for the wide researches and splendid discoveries of modern chemistry.

Out of this view of the character of the style of the New Testament, there is here suggested a practical inquiry, in relation to the propriety of introducing the study of that volume into our preparatory schools. We are aware that such is the usual practice; and that, in this country at least, it is sanctioned by long usage and the authority of distinguished names. But in accordance with the views already expressed, we do not hesitate to enter our protest against it. We have reasons for this course, apart from the character of the language; such as the feeling which is inevitably excited in the mind of a boy towards any book through which he has been driven in the gears of grammatical analysis; a feeling, which not seldom clings to him, from the force of habit, through life. But we do not press such reasons here. Our present objection lies against the style. All that a boy acquires, or is expected to acquire, in those schools, is the words, and phrases, and constructions of the language. Now if he is thus early put to the study of the New Testament, his attention is directed to a style of composition, which is not Greek, exhibited in a language, which is not pure Greek, and he is in this way required to become a good Greek

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scholar. As well might a pupil in French commence with the study of the dialect of Canada; as well might a foreigner, beginning to learn English, take up first the poetry of Burns, or the Heart of Mid Lothian. The consequence of such a course is, that the youth, whose mind is thus preoccupied with a foreign idiom, acquires no perception of the true genius of the Greek, or of its distinguishing characteristics; all to him is confused and indistinct; whereas, let him pursue a contrary course, and first make himself familiar with the Attic models, and become imbued with their spirit, and he may then come to the study of the New Testament prepared to perceive and estimate at once the peculiarities which belong to it, both in regard to diction and to subjects.

We return to the topic from which we have digressed. From the course of our remarks it is manifest, that were only the *language* of the New Testament to be taken into the account, the lexicography and grammar of it would properly demand a distinct consideration, apart from any which should include the Greek language in general. We now proceed to say, that the circumstances of the nation to which the sacred writers belonged were such, and there are such constant allusions to the history and geography not only of the Jews, but also of the Romans, to their manners and customs, and to their views of religion and philosophy, as to take the New Testament entirely out from the body of Grecian literature, and give to both the philology and interpretation of it a distinct and peculiar character, and render them a proper object of separate and particular investigation. On each of the above topics we shall by and by offer some remarks, in connexion with the questions, which here present themselves to our notice.

What then are the principles, on which this separate lexicography and grammar of the New Testament should be founded? What are the means, by which the philology and interpretation of it are to be illustrated and supported? To the first of these questions, the remarks which we have already made, afford an ample reply. The language of the New Testament must be considered in all the relations, which it bears to the Greek in the various stages and characters of that tongue; and also in reference to the influence, which the Hebrew or Aramæan may have exerted upon it. So far as the signification of words, the general interpretation of the language, and the illustration of the subjects are concerned, all the circumstances enumerated

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in the preceding paragraph must also be taken into the account.

The language must be compared with that of the Greek writers of the Attic and succeeding ages, and the usage of each individual word traced through them all; since in no other way can it be determined, whether a word is of good Attic usage, or belongs to the later idiom, or has been introduced by the influence of the Hebrew. The means of making such a comparison, thanks to the patient diligence of German editors, are now ample in respect to most of the Greek authors, though not for all. To institute the requisite comparison *de novo*, and solely by the aid of one's own personal reading, would indeed be a task, requiring for the accomplishment of it a life, which should not number less than several multiples of threescore years and ten. But with such admirable indexes as those of Xenophon, by Sturz; of Herodotus and Polybius, by Schweighäuser; of Herodian, by Irmisch; and others, which might be enumerated, and the collections made for this special purpose by Wetstein and other commentators, the labor of the comparison is brought within a narrow compass. These indexes often contain within themselves sufficient materials to make out the necessary examination; or, if not, they refer at once to the requisite passages in the text. We are well aware, that index hunting may be, and has been, carried much too far; especially when the index is made the place of ultimate investigation and appeal; but we are unable to perceive any valid objection to the use of them as instruments, as sources of information merely, without placing any implicit reliance on their decisions. It is the prerogative of the present age, that it may avail itself at once of all the results of the labors of past ages, and thus profit by their experience and toil. To renounce this high privilege, would surely be a proof of anything but wisdom. As well might the mathematician discard the labors of those who have preceded him, and attempt to make out solely from the resources of his own ingenuity the solutions of those problems, which have for ages occupied so many mighty minds, from Pythagoras down through Newton to La Place.

In these investigations, important aid may also be derived from the labors of the Atticists, a class of men who undertook, in their patriotic zeal, to recall the Greek language from its degeneracy, to that high standard of purity and elegance, for which the ancient Attic was preeminently distinguished. They

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busied themselves in collecting and condemning words and phrases, which, to their taste, lacked something of the true Attic flavor; and with these they contrasted the more ancient and elegant modes of expression. In these niceties, they sometimes went beyond the mark, and have thus betrayed their own ignorance; since it has not unfrequently happened, that words, which they denounced, have, in the researches of later critics, been found in good use in the best authors of the purest age of Greek. Still their labors are not without value; and when brought forward in connexion with the observations of competent editors, they add much to the facility of our investigations. In a particular manner, the work of Phrynicus, as published by Lobeck, exhibits an extent of research into subjects of this kind, which would be credible of scarcely any other than German industry and minuteness of inquiry.

To determine accurately the degree of influence, which the Hebrew has exerted over the style of the New Testament, an extensive acquaintance with that language is obviously necessary. We shall speak more at large on this point, in connexion with another part of our subject. It is sufficient here to remark, that it is not a knowledge of the Hebrew of the Old Testament only, that is important; but also of that idiom, which was the current language of Judea in the age of the Savior and the apostles, and which was formed from the Chaldee, brought back by the Jews from their exile, and intermingled with the Syriac or Western Aramæan. The words that remain untranslated in the Greek Testament, such as ταλιθὰ κοῦμι (טַלִיתָא קוּמִי) *damsel, arise!* are mostly of this dialect; which, so far as the Scriptures are concerned, is intimately related to the Hebrew, and differs from it in the forms and choice of words, rather than in construction. In this connexion, also, the earlier writings of the Jews in Greek are of great importance. The Septuagint, especially, throws light continually on the peculiarities of the New Testament; and often constitutes a direct medium through which we may compare the idioms of the latter with the Hebrew of the Jewish Scriptures. This version could not fail to exert a powerful influence on the writers of the New Testament; since it had already become current among the great body of the Jews who lived out of Palestine; and was of such authority, that both Christ and his apostles not unfrequently made their Scriptural quotations in the language of it;

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and the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which was not improbably designed to become a circular for all the churches composed of Jews, adduces his citations almost exclusively from the Septuagint. In addition to this, the Jewish apocryphal writings also afford many illustrations of the language of the New Testament; inasmuch as they were written by Jews, and on Jewish subjects. But in regard to all these works, it is manifest that they were written at an earlier period, and before the use of the Greek tongue had become fully prevalent among the Jews; and they are, therefore, with the exception of a few portions of the Septuagint, far less pure, and exhibit far greater anomalies, than the books of the New Testament, which were composed when the Greek had become more current, and was better understood. This remark cannot apply, however, to the writings of Josephus, who was contemporary with the apostles, and wrote not long after them. His works may, therefore, be advantageously employed to elucidate the style of the New Testament; although, as the friend of princes, and mingling in the higher classes of society, and acquainted with general literature, he has, in a measure, divested himself of those peculiarities of the Hebrew idiom, so frequent and so unavoidable in the colloquial language of the common people; to which the diction of the sacred writers is unquestionably to be referred.

There is another class of writings in Greek, which it has been proposed to employ in illustrating the usage of words in the New Testament. We allude to the spurious gospels, which were partially current in the early periods of Christianity, and which have been collected and published by Fabricius; and also to the writings of the Fathers. To the examination and temperate application of writings like these, with a proper estimate of their value, we have nothing to oppose; but our objection to an extensive use of them is, that, from the very nature of the case, they must be supposed to have closely imitated the style of the New Testament, and can therefore be of no great authority in determining any question respecting the purity or propriety of that style. If that had peculiarities, they would be likely to adopt them; if that departed from the idiom of pure Greek, they also would probably have done the same. In regard to the Fathers, they mostly wrote at a time so long subsequent, and mingled, to such a degree, the peculiarities of the New Testament with the characteristics of the later Greek, that

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they can properly afford no good criterion for forming any estimate respecting the language of the sacred writers.*

Such are the means, in general, which we possess of ascertaining the distinctive character of the *language* of the New Testament. In the application of these means, there must, however, be still some causes of hesitation, which will prevent us, in many cases, from expressing a decided opinion. The sacred writers were mostly unlearned men, belonging to the lower walks of life, and knew little or nothing of any books but their own Scriptures. If Paul, perhaps, must be considered an exception to this remark, yet it is no less certain, that his learning was that of a Jew, and not that of a Greek; and although he quotes from two of the Greek poets,† yet there is little probability that he was acquainted with Grecian literature to any great extent. The language of the sacred writers, then, as a general fact, must have been that of ordinary life, acquired not from the study of books, but from the opportunities and necessities of personal intercourse. Now we cannot suppose, or at least we cannot be sure, that the written literature of Greece, which has come down to us, contains every word and phrase, that was current and of good usage in the spoken language. Hence, in regard to particular words in the New Testament, which are not now to be found in Greek authors, it would be too much to say, positively, that they are not Greek, and even good Greek; since, for aught we know, they may have existed in the spoken language, although they have not been preserved to us by the national writers. Were we to look through any one even of the best Greek writers, we should find, no doubt, many words and phrases, which occur in no other of them; but in such a case should we be justified in denouncing such words and phrases as foreign to the Greek? There is also another source of hesitancy, which regards the influence of the Hebrew. We allude particularly to what are described above as *imperfect* Hebraisms, comprising phrases and constructions,

* The Jews who lived out of Palestine and spoke Greek, were called Ἕλληνες *Greeks*, or Ἑλληνισταί *Hellenists*; and hence the Greek spoken by them is called *Hellenistic*. This appellation is appropriate, if confined to the Jewish Greek, and to the language of the Fathers, which was in part derived from it. The term has sometimes been improperly extended, so as to include what is more appropriately called *the later Greek*.

† Aratus, Acts xvii. 28; and Epimenides, Titus i. 12.

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which are common to both languages; less frequent perhaps in Greek prose, but occurring often in their poetry. It is denied by Winer, that the colloquial style of the New Testament admits of comparison with the poetry of the Greeks; since the nature and characteristics of the two must be wholly dissimilar. On this question we dissent from him. The language of common life is everywhere full of all those figures of style, which the rhetorician describes as constituting the very soul of poetry, and which the more sedate and tranquil character of prose avoids. It is marked by striking metaphors and strong hyperbole; by conciseness so abrupt, that a word often seems to convey a whole train of ideas; by frequent ellipses, where a word or a phrase is omitted, and the omission gives energy to the expression; by sentences begun, of which the conclusion is supplied only by a gesture or a look; in short, by all those characteristics, which accompany the vehement expression of emotion and passion. Now this is the very field, which poetry delights to cultivate. It is here she culls her choicest flowers, and gathers her most precious fruits. In those walks, especially, where poetry exhibits the overflowings of a fervid imagination and of passionate feeling, as in the lyric and dramatic style, the very beauty and charm of it consist in the fact, that the language is true to the natural and unrestrained expression of ordinary life. Why, then, may not the poetry of the Greeks be employed to illustrate the words and phrases of the New Testament, which are so manifestly drawn from the language of colloquial intercourse?

We are aware, that this mode of illustration may be carried too far; as was doubtless the case among the former advocates of Attic purity; but the result of it we think will be, that, so far as mere language is concerned, most of the constructions of the New Testament may also be found in the Greek dramatic writers, and in Pindar. It does not hence follow, that the sacred penmen derived them from those writers; but it does follow, that the characteristics of the language of ordinary life were common to the Hebrews and the Greeks, and that the loftiest poetry in both these tongues exhibits them in all their strength. So far as the writers of the New Testament are concerned, these peculiarities were probably derived from their native tongue; from the sublime conceptions and glowing expressions of their own poetry; and may, therefore, properly be termed *Hebraisms;* imperfect ones, no

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doubt, but still Hebraisms, and that to a greater extent, we think, than Winer has been disposed to allow.

We have done with the philology of the New Testament, and pass now to the consideration of the means by which the *interpretation* of it is to be illustrated and supported. So far as these are independent of the mere signification and grammatical construction of words, they must principally be sought, as we have before remarked, in the peculiar circumstances of the Jewish nation; in their history, geography, and manners and customs; which last are connected with, and in part dependent on their language, religion, and philosophy. At the period, moreover, when the New Testament was written, the Jews were under the dominion of the Romans; and the frequent allusions of the writers to this political state, and to the character and customs of their haughty oppressors, render an acquaintance with the contemporary facts of Roman history and antiquities an object of essential importance.

The Jews were, indeed, a peculiar people; and their history, down to the close of the captivity, is spread before us with sufficient particularity in the books of the Old Testament. From that period until the birth of Christ, they were the sport of every great and every petty conqueror, who chose to direct his arms against them, or bend his course across their territory; and their fortunes were intimately connected with those of the surrounding kingdoms; with those of the Seleucidæ on the one hand, and of the Ptolemies on the other; until at length they fell within the iron grasp of Roman domination. Their particular national history during this period is to be found, partly in their apocryphal books, especially those of the Maccabees, and partly in the works of Josephus. As connected with foreign nations, the facts respecting them have been collected and arranged in modern times by Prideaux, and with still more care, and in a more condensed and attractive form by Jahn, in one of the parts of his great work on Jewish Archæology. On the events of the age in which Christ appeared, and in which the New Testament was written, the works of Josephus constitute a mine, which is yet far from being exhausted. As he was contemporary with those events, and in many of the most important a personal actor, he has described them with a fulness of detail, and a truth of coloring, which cast strong light upon the allusions of the sacred writers. The prominent political characters in the New Testament, of whom we there have only passing

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sketches; the Herods, the Agrippas, Annas, Caiaphas, Pilate, Felix, Festus, and others; are here brought forward in bold relief, and exhibited in the full glare of all their vices and atrocious crimes. Were we to speak from our own conviction, we should say, that the comparison of the contemporary history of Josephus affords an irrefragable proof of the authenticity of the sacred books, and more extensive means for the illustration of them, than exists perhaps in any other quarter. He also narrates at length the Roman history, so far as it is connected with that of his own country; and the downfall of kings, the dismissals of governors and proconsuls, the intrigues, the dissensions, and the crimes of every species, which filled that unhappy land with violence and bloodshed, are all portrayed by him with the painful minuteness, and unquestioned fidelity of an eyewitness. It is proper to remark, that his accounts of the affairs of the Romans are generally confirmed, and sometimes elucidated, by the testimony of Tacitus, Suetonius, and others of their own historians.

Nor is a particular acquaintance with both the civil and physical geography of Palestine, and the adjacent territories, a matter of less importance, for the proper understanding and explanation of the books of the New Testament. Where there are so many allusions to the natural scenery of a region, and the reader is so often transported from one part of the country to another, he needs to become, as it were, an inhabitant of the land. He needs to be able to body forth in his own mind, that scenery in all its beauty and prominence; to behold as with his own eyes 'the glory of Lebanon' clothed with fir trees and cedars, and stretching his lofty ridges along the sky; to dwell with delight on 'the excellency of Carmel' crowned with verdure, and 'dipping his feet in the western sea;' to gaze on the lake, and the hills, and the valleys of Galilee; and to rove in imagination over the mountains and among the dells, which surround the sacred city, the queen of nations, and 'the joy of the whole earth.' Without some such power, it is impossible to enter into the spirit, and feel the full force of the narrative and the allusions. The names, indeed, meet the eye, and fall upon the ear; but they are the names of 'things unknown,' and destitute of 'local habitation.' Here, too, the climate is to be taken into the account. The early and the latter rain; the seed time and harvest; the dry and scorching days of summer, contrasted with the coolness and deep serenity of the nights, in

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which the heavens seem lighted up with living fires; the parched earth, which drinks up the streams, and converts the mountain torrent into a bed of sand; all these are to be known and felt ere we can understand, in their full strength, the frequent references like those to 'a dry and thirsty land where no water is,' to 'the shadow of a great rock in a weary land;' or like those in our Savior's parable of the sower, or in his conversation with the Samaritan woman.

The civil and political geography of that age, though not less important, is more difficult to be ascertained. The grand natural traits of scenery and climate are permanent and unchangeable, and present at this day almost the very aspect, which they bore two thousand years ago; but all those features, which depended on the will of monarchs, or the power of nations, have, like those monarchs and those nations, crumbled into dust. The mutations of Palestine, in this respect, have been great; and they appear particularly so, when we trace the local divisions of the territory, from that first partition under Joshua, which is now perhaps inexplicable, down through the changes, which took place under the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel, and then through those which occurred after the exile in respect to the Jews and Samaritans, until at length the whole became subject to the Roman power. At that time Herod the Great was king over all the territory of the twelve tribes; but at his death, Judea and Samaria were given to Archelaus, Galilee and Perea to Herod Antipas, and the country northeast of the Jordan to Philip. When Archelaus was banished on account of his cruelties to Vienna in Gaul, Judea became a Roman province, and was governed by a succession of procurators, under the control of the proconsul of Syria. It was then assigned, as part of his kingdom, to Herod Agrippa the First, whose miserable fate is narrated in the twelfth chapter of the Acts. After his death, it was again governed by procurators, among whom were Felix and Festus. During all this time the boundaries of the province were often varied, by the addition or abstraction of different towns and cities. We have gone into this partial detail, merely to exhibit the confused and perplexed state of the territorial divisions of Palestine at that period, and to show that the investigation of the subject is attended with no little difficulty. If we add to this the similar state of Asia Minor, where it is perhaps impossible to trace with accuracy the limits of the different provinces; and also the

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changes made by the Romans in the general divisions of Greece proper and Macedonia, where they affixed the ancient names to provinces and regions of far different limits; we may well suppose, that it is not the mere common reader who can accompany the sacred writers in their geographical details, or follow the great apostle of the Gentiles in his various journies.

Our information on these topics is to be gleaned, principally, from the treatises of Strabo and Ptolemy, and from the passing notices of contemporary Roman historians, and occasionally of Cicero and other writers; but especially, as it regards Palestine, from the works of Josephus. These furnish, indeed, but scanty materials; but they are all we have; and, taken in connexion with the facts derived from the New Testament, they enable us in most cases to come at satisfactory conclusions. The physical geography is best learned from the observations of modern travellers. Palestine is becoming every year more and more accessible; and the light which has been thrown upon its natural features by the reports of Seetzen, Burckhardt, Leigh, the American missionaries, and recently by Dr Jowett, and in the delightful 'Letters from the East,' has contributed much to impart spirit and interest to our conceptions of the scenery so often alluded to in the Bible.

The New Testament, as well as the Old, is, in its costume, a national book; national not only in the references, which it makes to the history and geography of the Jews, but also in those frequent allusions, which it contains to the manners and customs of the people; to their dress, their meals, their hospitality, their modes of salutation and habits of social intercourse, their houses, their agriculture, and above all, to the rites and ceremonies of their religion, which exercised an influence over their whole lives and conduct. The ancestors of the nation were wandering *nomades*, without fixed habitation; and their descendants, when they came out of Egypt, appear to have possessed a similar character, and to have closely resembled those Arabian tribes, which still roam, in the true spirit of oriental liberty, over the dreary deserts on the east and south of Palestine. Many customs the Hebrews had in common with those tribes; as, for instance, the rights of the *Goël* or avenger of blood, which are still found existing in the East in all their ancient strength, and which Moses was not able to abolish, but only to modify by the appointment of cities of refuge. But the national character of the Hebrews was framed and fixed by the institu-

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tions of their great legislator; their religion, or its external requirements and prohibitions, pervaded every part of the daily occupations and intercourse of domestic and private life. They were to be a peculiar people, consecrated to God, and beloved of Heaven. Their institutions excluded them from all connexion with surrounding nations; and when in the lapse of time they mingled with the inhabitants of other countries, in the pursuits of commerce, or as the subjects of foreign dominion, still it was as the clean with the unclean, as the holy with the unholy. They neither ate nor drank with them, nor contracted alliances of friendship. Dispersed among all nations, they were yet separate from all nations. They stood aloof in their pride from all the world, as to this day they stand aloof.

It is needless to remark, that the character of the Jews, and their manners and customs, must be studied principally in the books of the Old Testament. There we have spread before us the original of all their institutions, the very code of legislation, which, in a great degree, formed their character, and established their national peculiarities. Interwoven as the precepts of their Scriptures were with the very texture of their thoughts and feelings, it is only by rendering ourselves familiar with those Scriptures, that we can at all enter into those thoughts and feelings, and comprehend the lofty pride and bitter prejudices of the Jew. Moreover, the religion of the New Testament is founded on that of the Old. Christ came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil them; not to repeal, but to establish them with higher sanctions and more powerful motives. Hence, the New Testament is the image of the Old, in precept, in doctrine, in illustration, in language, and expression; it is built upon it, and forms part of the same structure. The former could not be understood without the latter; it would be unintelligible, both in language and in doctrine. Presented to the world in a later age, it naturally wears a different dress; the costume, indeed, is mostly Grecian; while the body, soul, and spirit, are altogether Hebrew.

In this connexion we would again advert to the study of the Hebrew language. We have already urged, in general terms, the cultivation of an acquaintance with the Scriptures in their original tongues; and have spoken of a knowledge of the Hebrew as essential to the accurate comprehension of the philology of the New Testament. But we would speak of it here, as one of the means of acquiring a familiarity with the genius and

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character of the Jewish people, and of becoming imbued with an oriental spirit; without which it is apparent that the New Testament cannot be fully understood. We hold it to be almost an axiom, that the genius of a nation cannot be thoroughly comprehended and felt, without an adequate acquaintance with their vernacular tongue. It is this which constitutes one of their chief peculiarities. The language of every people contains words and phrases and modes of construction and expression, springing out of and adapted to their individual characteristics and exigencies; and which, when once introduced and fixed, exercise a controlling power in moulding and fashioning trains of thought and emotion in the plastic minds of the rising generation. The various languages of the earth are the channels through which the thoughts and feelings and passions of the different nations have burst forth upon the world; and to form a correct estimate of the peculiarities of those thoughts and feelings,—of those traits which make them what they are, and render them national in their character,—they must be viewed as they roll onward in those channels which they have formed for themselves. Demosthenes or Chatham could never have been eloquent in the language of France; nor could the gallantry and gracefulness of France find utterance in the unwieldy phraseology of Germany.

We would not assert, with the emperor Charles the Fifth, that the learning of a new language is the acquisition of another sense; but we have always felt that it was like the acquaintance of a new friend, imparting to us new ideas, and giving us new notions of life and manners. If we may speak from experience, we know of no process which exercises such an expansive power upon the mind, as the study of a language. It is turning over for us a new leaf in the book of human nature, and bringing us acquainted with the modes in which another nation thinks and feels. Besides, the literature of a people, which is only the embodying of their intellectual habits in form and expression, and which is shaped by their circumstances and characteristic traits, can never be accurately viewed through the medium of any language but its own; it can never be transfused into the speech of another country; or if the attempt be made, yet, like the native of a different clime, although it strive to speak another tongue, the features and costume evince at once its foreign birth. The literature of the Jews is in the Hebrew Bible; and if, as most of our readers

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are aware, it is impossible successfully to transplant into our own language the literary works of contemporary modern nations; how much more groundless is the hope, that this should ever be done, with full success, in regard to the books of a people so remote in time, so unlike ourselves in all that gives individuality to nations, so distinct and marked in all that pertains to character and genius, so unexampled in the circumstances both of their glory and their fall.

But the claims of the Hebrew, and the treasures which it unfolds, would seem of themselves sufficient to stimulate inquiry and enchain attention. The most ancient of languages of which we have any records, distinguished for a simplicity unimitated and inimitable, and exhibiting forms of words and constructions perfectly dissimilar to all the occidental tongues and enstamped with the genius of oriental conception, it presents to the philologist a wide and fertile field, on which to employ his powers and gratify his predilections. Nor are the rewards which it proffers to the man of taste less rich or less important. If it be merit in a narrative, to place the scenes described before the very eye of him who reads, then have the Hebrew narratives this merit. We are present and mingle in the very scenes. We associate with the actors, we converse with them, we feel with and for them. They are to us like intimate acquaintances; they are ever in our thoughts, and objects of our present solicitude. If it be the province of poetry, to awaken in us thrilling emotions; to melt our souls in tenderness, or rouse them to lofty and impetuous feeling; to soothe our hearts by bland associations and images of loveliness, or enkindle within them high and holy aspirations; then does the poetry of the Hebrews take rank above all other poetry. The plaintive simplicity of the royal Psalmist, the sprightliness and beautiful imagery of the sons of Korah, the abrupt and energetic majesty of Isaiah, the exquisite tenderness and pathos of him who lamented over Zion, and the sublime and fervid flights of Nahum and Habakkuk, are without parallel in all that Greece or Rome can exhibit of beauty, or majesty, or pathos. But we forbear. These are but fruits and flowers which spring up by the way, and with which we may regale our languid senses. The object at which we aim lies far beyond; and the Hebrew, with all its attractions, is but an instrument, through which we are to arrive at a higher knowledge of divine truth.

We have spoken of the influence of the Jewish religion upon

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the writers of the New Testament, and of the intimate relation which their works bear to the books of the Jewish Canon. We might now go on to speak of the philosophy which then prevailed, and to which the inspired penmen have made frequent allusions; and we might point out how far this philosophy exerted an influence on the religious views of that age, or on those more peculiar ones which are developed in the New Testament. But we must content ourselves with simply remarking, that it has ever been the fate of religion, when brought into contact with philosophy, to be subjected to fanciful speculations and metaphysical reasonings, which have distorted her features and arrayed her in fantastic garments, widely different from the simplicity and grace of her primeval character. Religion has uniformly been the sufferer by the unhallowed connexion; and very rarely has it been her lot to elevate or direct the aims and principles of philosophy. The three great sects of the Jews, the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes, made their religion altogether dependant on their different philosophical opinions, in regard to which they were at irreconcilable enmity. Their separate views are given with some particularity by Josephus. Traces also of the Greek philosophy are visible in the apocryphal book of Wisdom; and the influence of it could not yet have passed away in the age of the apostles. The use of the term *Logos* by John presents a problem which has never yet been fully solved; and in whatever way it may ultimately be determined, it is obvious that the question embraces the whole range of Platonic philosophy; as well that taught by the distinguished founder himself, as that which flourished in the schools of his successors, the new Platonists of Alexandria.

Thus far have we attempted to specify some of the fundamental principles, and main branches of investigation, on which the appropriate interpretation and lexicography of the New Testament must necessarily rest. If we have at all succeeded in placing before the minds of our readers our conceptions of the extent and importance of the subject, and of the magnitude of the responsibility connected with it, we shall not have labored in vain. The cause of truth is great and will prevail; but it must be at the expense of great efforts, great perseverance, and great sacrifices. Whoever would sit down to make himself familiar with the Bible, and to know all that is to be known respecting it, must make this the grand purpose of his life; and even then he will find that 'wearisome days and nights are ap-

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pointed unto him;' and that it is only in a world of purer light and clearer vision that he can hope to have all his doubts removed and his knowledge perfected.

We have left ourselves but a narrow space to speak of the works whose titles stand at the head of this article. The little tract of Professor Planck first opened the way fully to a correct estimate of the character of the style of the New Testament, and unfolded those philological principles of which the works of Wahl and Winer were intended to exhibit the practical application. Though of small dimensions, it is full of large views; and has exerted a wider influence in the critical world than all the ponderous tomes produced during the centuries of the Attic controversy. On this account, and as a specimen of acute and judicious criticism, we would fain hope that it may yet be republished in this country. The author has been for several years employed upon a Thesaurus of the New Testament, which shall contain the practical results of all his labors on this subject. This work, if his feeble health will permit him to complete it, cannot but be in the highest degree valuable and important; though from the specimens of it which we have had an opportunity to see, we should anticipate from it greater improvements in the philology, than in the interpretation of the New Testament.

The Clavis or Lexicon of Wahl is founded, as we have said, on the principles first unfolded by Planck, and on those general views of interpretation, which we have been attempting to develope. It was the object of the author to bring into a moderate compass the results of the latest and most extended investigations into both the philology and interpretation of the sacred volume; so that they might be made universally accessible, and be adapted to the daily convenience and habitual use of every student. The work was intended to embrace simply the *results*, without the *processes*, of investigation; with references to authorities sufficient to verify those results, should the student wish to prosecute his inquiries farther. That such is the plan best suited to the purpose which the author had in view, there can be little doubt; nor can we hesitate to say, that he has successfully accomplished that purpose. The object of a lexicon is not *commentary*—not the exhibition of a system of theology; it is designed simply as an instrument in the hands of the student, by which he is to aid himself in ascertaining the sense of a writer, and making out, practically if not formally, a commentary for

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himself. To do this fully, he must of course go back to the same sources of information from which the Lexicon itself was drawn. In a work of this kind, moreover, a great deal of the merit must necessarily depend on the power which the writer may possess of condensing his thoughts, and expressing them in terms at once concise and perspicuous. In this respect, we think that a high rank must be assigned to Wahl; and that he is far removed both from the garrulous diffuseness of Parkhurst, and from that prolixity and unnecessary copiousness for which Schleusner is distinguished.

The work of Winer was designed to exhibit the application of the same principles to the grammatical structure of the language of the New Testament. It is as yet the only treatise of the kind; and like most of the author's other works, bears marks of haste both in the conception and execution. It contains many observations of great value; the general plan, and the internal arrangement and classification are good; and the principles are, for the most part, correctly stated and happily illustrated. On some points he has carried his views too far, and on some few he is probably erroneous. We look upon the work as one, which will impart new and important views to the students of this country, and serve to stimulate them to more extensive inquiry.

The manual of Bretschneider exhibits a less strict adherence to the general principles, which we have been discussing, and on which the works hitherto mentioned are exclusively founded. The illustrations are drawn more frequently from the Septuagint and the apocryphal books; and also from the apocryphal gospels collected by Fabricius, on the value of which we have already offered some remarks. The work as yet is comparatively unknown in this country; and, as we are given to understand, it has acquired in Germany also less currency than that of Wahl.

Before closing this article, we wish to say a few words on one other topic. The question is often asked, Why should we be indebted to foreign nations for our manuals and other books in sacred literature? Why, especially, should we be thus indebted to Germany, and not rather use the helps, which the English language affords? To the first part of this question we may answer, that it would be needless labor to toil at the composition of elementary books, when such as we want exist already in another country, and can be introduced among us at the expense, at farthest, of mere translation. Besides, in the

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pressing demands of this country for active labor, there are very few who have leisure to qualify themselves in the best manner for such undertakings; and of those few, there are probably none, whose time and talents are not devoted to a different and not less important portion of the same field. In regard to the latter part of the question, we have no hesitation in saying, that we take German books, because they are the best for our purpose. In that country, literature of every species is a profession; and there are profound scholars, who are constantly occupied in the processes of instruction, and are therefore able to feel the wants of pupils, and qualified to supply them. With their loose and fanciful speculations, we have nothing to do. We know, that in religion and philosophy they hold, as in other things, the 'empire of the air;' and that the views of many of their writers on both these subjects are erratic; and knowing this, we may be upon our guard. Give us English books of equal value, whether Grammars, Lexicons, or Commentaries, and we will gladly discard the German writers. Such a course would relieve us from much labor, and would exempt the cause of sacred literature from much reproach. But until this is done, or until we have among ourselves more men of talent and research who can devote themselves to this object, they who are in earnest in pursuing these studies, must seek the best helps wherever they are to be found, and however much they may be encumbered with extraneous speculation. We would not, without cause, speak lightly of the present state of sacred literature in England; but it may well be supposed, that at least they are not far in advance of this country, when it is known, that the works of Parkhurst are still the standard helps for the study of both the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures. On this topic we would only adopt the words of one of their own very few scholars, who are competent to pronounce a correct decision on this point. We allude to Professor Lee of Cambridge, himself a most signal instance of genius triumphing over all obstacles and all discouragements. In the preface to his translation of Henry Martyn's Persian tracts, he holds the following language; on which we would merely remark, that it applies to the New Testament as well as to the Old, though his subject led him to speak only of the latter; and which we would especially recommend to the notice of those who insist upon the use of English commentators, to the exclusion of those of Germany. 'No book, with which I am acquainted, stands so

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much in need of elucidation, as the Hebrew Bible. From the times of Grotius to the present day, I believe we can find scarcely one original commentator. And many, even of his remarks, have been borrowed from the Jews. The Dutch and German Commentaries are the books most worthy of the scholar's regard; but many of these are such, as to make it a question, whether they should be recommended or not. Nothing, if we except the dreams of Hutchinson, has come out in England for the last hundred years, in the shape of original investigation. Compilation has long been the order of the day; and names, respectable indeed and valuable in their time, are now appealed to as the only safeguards against innovation, or as instructers in the way of truth. In almost an universal dearth of Scriptural knowledge, this is not to be wondered at; nor is it to be condemned. It is, without doubt, the best and safest path. But it should not satisfy the minds of those who have both ability and opportunity for making further progress. And as the character of the times in which we live calls for such exertion, it is to be hoped, that the call will not be disregarded.' To a testimony like this, we cannot wish to add a single word.

ART. VI.—*Analytical Outlines of the English Language, or a cursory Examination of its Materials and Structure, in the form of Familiar Dialogues, intended to accompany Grammatical Studies.* By JOHN LEWIS. Richmond. Shepherd & Pollard. 8vo. 1825.

THIS is a work of some novelty, and evidently proceeds from a thinking, rather than an imitative mind. Though the author complains of the want of access to a very extensive library, he has certainly made a good use of those books (and they are among the best for his purpose), which he was able to command, and has approached and pursued his subject unshackled by any preceding system. We have not so much confidence as some, in the magical efficacy of dialogues, or conversations, regularly penned and printed, in gaining the attention of pupils, or imparting the instruction which such writings are intended to convey. Though called, and intended to be familiar, they

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are usually couched in phrase too elaborate for the pupil; and for the teacher, they are a kind of labor saving machinery, on whose operation he may repose with too much confidence, and task his own intellect too tenderly. The dialogues and conversations which rise out of the daily lessons of the learner, if he is properly encouraged by his master, will be the true familiar dialogues, and will prove the most instructive. The teacher will perceive exactly how far he is understood, and will learn to vary his explanations, till he finds he has acquired the art of adapting them, in each case, to the comprehension of his scholars. Besides, there is something rather too alluring in the name of dialogues or conversations. It is calculated to raise an expectation of entertainment too high to be gratified, upon subjects abstruse in their nature; and disappointment is a sore thing to children and youth; an evil for which our ingenuity is sometimes taxed to the utmost to devise a remedy.

We feel bound to commend the modesty of Mr Lewis, in proposing his work merely as an accompaniment to grammatical studies. This modesty is the more deserving of praise, as it comes in contrast with the pretensions of some of his predecessors in a similar walk, who, from their supposed discoveries, or the novelty of their writings, have claimed for them a measure of praise paramount to that which belongs to the productions of all other philologists. This is a kind of charlatanry peculiar to no age. We recollect to have seen the title of a book, written by an obscure Englishman, in the seventeenth century, which runs thus; 'The art of signs; or a universal character and philosophical language, in which men speaking different languages, may be able, by studying it for the space of two weeks, to express their thoughts, either by writing or speech, no less intelligibly than individuals of the same community in their vernacular tongues; by which also the young may acquire the principles of philosophy and true logic, with much greater ease and despatch, than from the common treatises of philosophers.' This is a climax of arrogance, that is seldom equalled; but in some of its parts, we can find instances of too near resemblance, in more recent times. But let us return to the subject immediately before us.

Mr Lewis considers the process of induction the readiest way of acquiring the right use of words; and to a certain extent, no doubt, he is right. But perhaps every one is not sufficiently aware, that this process begins with the very dawn of

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intellect; that the child has made some advances in it, before he can utter an articulate sound; and that he has made very great advances, before he is capable of understanding any classification of words, or any rules of construction. This process we say is always going on, liable indeed to be erroneous in numberless instances, but always progressive, without any consciousness, for a long time, on the part of the individual, of the steps by which he is acquiring his knowledge. The instructer may come forward in aid of the work, but it will proceed without him, and it cannot be checked. Now it is a great achievement of the philosopher, who has come to understand the use of induction, to make it serve as the ground of a just classification, in any art or science. And this is precisely what has been done (whether as perfectly as it can be done, or not, is foreign to our present purpose) in grammar. We will now see, by quoting Mr Lewis's remarks on this subject, how far we differ from him.

'The classification of words is of little consequence, except as it facilitates or impedes our acquaintance with them, and increases or diminishes our power to use them correctly. Do the present names of the parts of speech, and their present classification, aid us so much in these respects, as they limit our inquiries to common resemblance in general signification? Can any other knowledge of words, than their individual import, enable us either to understand or to employ them properly? I know that pupils, by the observance of analogy, may parse sentences grammatically, and at the same time may be entirely ignorant of their meaning. Is not the system plainly defective, when its terms and classification lead to this result; and should evils, so fatally adverse to its grand design, be permitted to remain? It may appear rash and presumptuous to censure a system, which is, in some sort, consecrated in our eyes by habit and long use, or to threaten with innovation and change, a nomenclature, which is associated with our earliest ideas of what is right and proper. But truth has nothing to fear from free and candid discussion.' *Preface*, pp. 10, 11.

The wisest men are sometimes so far seduced by a theory, as to look with too suspicious or jealous an eye upon everything foreign to it. If we are not deceived, this is the case with our author; for we can perceive no occasion for hostility between the inductive system, so far as he has applied it, and the common classification and arrangement of words in the grammars of

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the European languages. He seems to apprehend, that where technical grammar begins, the process of induction must end. But this is by no means consonant with our notions on the subject, or with what we have learned from experience and observation. The two primary requisites for writing or speaking intelligibly are; first, The using of words in their true meaning; and, secondly, Arranging them in their true grammatical construction. The first is acquired by gradual induction, which may be accidental and imperceptible, or the result of labor and investigation; but the second is more mechanical, and great assistance is obtained from common practical grammars, whatever objections may be made to the multifarious division of words into parts of speech, as they are called, and whether that division is founded in radical or in accidental differences. We feel no bigoted attachment to the common nomenclature in practical grammars, either as it regards the number of classes into which words are divided, or the names that are applied to them. Nor have we any objection to change, in regard to the definitions of the different parts of speech, if they can be made more descriptive or more distinctive. The number of classes into which words are divided, is much the same in all languages of the same family; and it is desirable that it should be so, and that no important reform should be undertaken without the consent of the whole fraternity. If the learned of each nation should indulge their own caprice in this respect, which should lead to important differences, it would take away one of the greatest facilities for learning foreign languages. It would be no apology for change, that the present classification of words is not founded in the true philosophy of language; for it is founded in something much more important, in usage, that *norma loquendi*, to which must be the final appeal in everything pertaining to language, whether within the province of grammar, logic, or rhetoric.

It appears to be a sound axiom in every art or science, that whatever has an appropriate office, should also have an appropriate name, and that it should be as descriptive as possible. The rhetorician, who writes for the instruction of others, would ill perform his work, without giving names to the various sources of pleasure to the imagination, the different kinds of figures of speech, and the divisions of an oration. The logician must assign names to the different modes of reasoning, in which he would indoctrinate his pupil; and the grammarian is obliged, as

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difficult as it may be, to give a name to each class of words, which has a common constructive use in the formation of a sentence. Objections have been made, and not without reason, to some of the names employed in practical grammars, for this purpose. But in this, as in many other cases, it is easier to point out the evil, than to discover and apply the remedy. And though we would not stigmatize as empyrics, all who have labored to do this, yet we may be allowed to call in question their skill, if it is to be decided by the success of their endeavors. The term *pronoun*, for instance, is objected to by Mr Webster (of whose learning we would always speak with respect), because it is not descriptive of the whole office of that part of speech, since it often stands for something more than a noun. But the word *substitute*, for which he proposes to change it, seems more objectionable; for while the term pronoun denotes the primary and common use of the class of words it embraces, the term substitute is vague, and does not show that such words have any more relation to a noun, than to an interjection. We are fully aware of the imperfect manner in which the names and the definitions of different sorts of words are applicable to them; and the only question is, whether they are the best that can be found. In all languages in which *articles* are known, we perceive a peculiar use, which entitles them to a distinct name and place. The name, however, is merely technical, and a definition cannot be framed in such a way as to distinguish the article wholly from the adjective, or those pronouns, which are used adjectively, and called definitive or demonstrative. *Noun* or *name* is too general, because it belongs equally to the substantive and adjective. These last names, as well as *verb*, are appropriate enough, as technical terms, and can be sufficiently well defined for all practical purposes. Indeed we have never seen any attempt to improve the commonly received division of words, for the purposes of elementary instruction, which was at all satisfactory, nor any arguments sufficiently powerful to persuade us, that the present classification should be abandoned. Even if we admit that a nomenclature, a little more descriptive could be formed, no real benefit could result from the change, since, after all, the definitions and remarks must show the greater or less extension in which names, that are merely technical, are to be understood.

Mr Lewis displays much ingenuity in the execution of his work, and avails himself of many pleasant illustrations to recom-

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mend his analysis, and take off from the dryness of what would otherwise be purely philosophical and preceptive. His commentaries sometimes go a little beyond the boundaries of grammar, into the borders of logic and rhetoric; but this is a trespass, which it is so difficult to avoid, and the extent of which it is so difficult to determine, that it calls for no severity of criticism. There is a great deal in this analysis, which must be useful for teachers, and it contains much explanation similar to what the most intelligent teachers of grammar will always be led to apply in the course of their instructions.

Though not perhaps one of the most devoted, we fear Mr Lewis is rather too fervent a worshipper of John Horne Tooke. It has been the fashion among the disciples of this distinguished man, to disparage the works of all preceding grammarians; to consider them as ignorant and blind guides, and to predict a total reformation in this department of learning. Paradoxical as it would seem to be, that all our practical grammars, founded upon language as it actually exists, should not only be miserably defective, but mischievously erroneous, such they have been confidently affirmed to be; a paradox equally as absurd as that of Swift, when he remarked, that 'in many instances the English language offends against every part of grammar.' And why is it that the English grammars of the last century maintain their ground, so that all subsequent to them are substantially the same grammars, somewhat more extended, and abounding more in illustration, but differing little from them in principles or modes of execution? It is because common sense has prevailed over ingenious theory, and shown itself competent to distinguish between speculative and practical philosophy; between a theory, which may stand or fall without any perceptible effect upon language, and a useful classification and system of rules, which every one may comprehend and apply as soon as he has occasion for them. Much of the idle talk that has prevailed on this subject, has grown out of the false supposition, that all discoveries concerning the formation of language have, not an indirect, but an immediate bearing upon our knowledge and use of words. But nothing is farther from the truth. The history of the formation of languages is very curious, and we are far from denying its utility. But to say that a writer or speaker must explore these profound depths before he can skilfully compose in his vernacular tongue, is much the same as to maintain that an artisan must be acquainted with the origin and all

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the successive improvements of his tools, in order to use them with dexterity. If one is already furnished with a fine, copious apparatus of all conceivable varieties of words, which custom, aided by the rules founded upon it, has taught him how to use, he may be much entertained by being told how the first man and woman talked in pure nouns substantive, and how that out of these grew all the refinements and all the 'corruptions' of speech; but it is difficult to perceive, let him trace down his inquiries ever so far and faithfully, how it is to operate any change or improvement in his vernacular language.

The philological writings of Tooke were welcomed as the production of a discoverer. He was not anxious himself to declare to the world, that he was indebted to any pioneer who conducted him in his course, and opened to him the secret recesses, whence he brought forth his marvellous lore, to the astonishment of many a novice, as well as of some grammatical antiquaries. But it was unworthy of a man of such distinguished intellect, either to build on another's foundation without acknowledging the fact, or to come forward with a prologue, when he first appeared on the stage, in a new character, filled with expressions of contempt towards all who preceded him in the same province. It was no discovery of his, that the noun and the verb are the primary and principal, if not, strictly speaking, the only parts of speech. This division can be traced to Aristotle, and was followed by Plato, though the Stagyrite, in one of his popular works, added the connective and definitive. The knowledge of this division, of which the great English philologist could not be ignorant, for it had been brought forward by one of his own countrymen, who did not escape his notice and ridicule, might have led him to inquire how to dispose of other words difficult to be managed. By a course of analysis and induction, which had never before been carried far in the English language, he procured a sort of triumph, which we shall presently see how far he deserved.

The ancient and simple division of words, to which we have adverted, is the most convenient for philosophical inquiry. The noun, first in the order of nature, embracing in the origin of language the names of material and sensible objects, thence advancing to the names of their qualities, and from these to abstract formations, exhibits a process which is at the same time probable as to fact, and easily understood. Articles and similar definitive words, for emphasis or limitation, must have been of slower

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growth; and perhaps still later, those substitutes for nouns, which prevent the necessity of continually repeating the names of persons and things. But the greatest difficulty presents itself, when we come to the verb. Its primary use, in contradistinction from other words, is to affirm something; and the kind of affirmation is as various as that of the signification of the words, which are so placed as to perform that office, or as that of the adjuncts by which anything is attributed to the subject. So complex, however, has it become by its changes for persons, moods, and tenses, all of which we associate in our notion of the verb, that it is difficult to separate what is accidental from what is radical, and for practical purposes it is useless to attempt such a separation. Most zealous controversies have been carried on concerning this subtile part of speech; and though it seems hardly credible, that dry grammarians, who have been so often coupled with commentators, those 'poor pioneers in literature,' that drag forward

> A wagon load of meanings for one word,
> While A 's deposed, and B with pomp restored,

should have spirits so excitable as to engage them in very serious quarrels; yet there are stories told of some of the combatants, manifesting more ferocity than we can well imagine. Tooke's hostility towards the grammarians from whom he differed, discovers itself rather by ridicule than ill nature, though the latter appears to be one of its ingredients. In the commencement of his Diversions of Purley, he favors the ancient division of words into nouns and verbs, without asserting that they have anything in common, except what has been acknowledged by all grammarians. At the close of his book, however, he asserts that a verb is, as every word must be, a noun, but that it is also something more; and that the title of verb was given to it on account of this distinguishing *something more*. But without proceeding to explain his meaning, he quotes, in the person of his friend, ten definitions of a verb, and then, as if weary of the work, he quits them with a sneer, and abruptly concludes his book. Mr Lewis follows in the same train.

'The conclusion to which our analytical investigations have led us, is, that the noun, physical and metaphysical, is the material of which all the words of all languages have been formed. The different parts of speech into which the English language is divided, we must therefore consider as subdivisions of one class.' p. 155.

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From childhood we have been taught, in learning different languages, to ascribe to the verb a great variety of changes by inflexion or auxiliary words, and to consider these changes as inherent properties. But it is a fair subject of inquiry, whether these changes are essential or accidental; whether they may not have arisen from gradual abbreviations in discourse, by means of which, either through arbitrary inflexions, or the composition of different words, so as to be pronounced and written like one, the several circumstances of person, time, &c. may be concisely expressed. If no radical word can, at the same time, mean more than one thing, it follows of consequence, that, when a word comes to signify something additional, it must be done by arbitrary or conventional changes, or by a significant compounding of words. There is nothing mysterious in this, and we can perceive no other solution of the difficulty. Jones, in his Greek Grammar, and some writers on Hebrew grammar, have attempted to dissect the verb, in order to find its composition and materials, and have discovered as much as one could expect would be found by such a process. It would, however, be expecting too much, concerning a very complex kind of words, in a remote age, that the history of their formation should be ascertained. It is the part of true philosophy to rest satisfied with a theory, which accounts for the fact, and which cannot be disproved. It will be readily perceived how easy it is in our own language to convert a noun into a verb. The recipe is very simple; it is only to assign to the noun the place of the verb, and to put a personal pronoun before it, and it will at once become a verb, submitting to all its changes. For proof of this, we cite a few examples from Shakspeare, who took unbounded liberties of the kind. Thus, in the pronoun itself; 'If thou *thouest* him a few times, it will not be amiss.' In his Henry the Eighth, it is said of Cardinal Wolsey,

> His own letter only
> Must fetch in whom he *papers*.

So in reference to a certain calamity; 'This *periods* his comfort.' Again, 'Come, *sermon* me no farther.'

> Is this the Athenian minion whom the world
> *Voiced* so regardfully?

To liberties of this kind it is impossible to fix any precise boundaries. If any words are introduced in this way, which are unauthorized by customary usage, they may be received or re-

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jected at pleasure. If the traveller in the stage coach, in order to save words, chooses to write in his memoranda, that he *booked* himself for Worcester; or the farmer tells his neighbour, that he has *barned* all his hay; or the collegian informs us, that he *rooms* at Smith's, or *chums* with Williams, it may be very good economy of words, but it is better always to confine such phraseology to conversation or private diaries.

Some great reform in grammar has been a desideratum among certain speculative philosophers, ever since the time of Bacon; such a thorough investigation of the nature, use, and signification of language, as to remove that uncertainty which hangs over it; such a metaphysical and analogical arrangement of words and thoughts, in corresponding harmony, as to clear up all logical and grammatical obscurity. One would suppose, that their wishes must have been much more concerned in this business, than their hopes; though the project was stated with great apparent seriousness by Bacon, and reiterated with much seeming gravity by Leibnitz, Le Clerc, and Hartley. But it supposes a degree of perfection in the human understanding wholly unattainable; an ability to class ideas and their objects so unexceptionably, as to command the concurrence of all reasonable and reasoning men; and a certainty in the signs of thought so complete, that they cannot be misunderstood. The expectation of accomplishing all this is truly delusive, and anticipates changes in the physical and intellectual world far beyond what our most flattering notions of progressive improvement authorize us to predict. Locke had some vague notions concerning a reformation in language, rightly concluding, that if its imperfections, as the instrument of knowledge, could be remedied, 'a great many controversies, that make such a noise in the world, would of themselves cease; and the way to knowledge, and perhaps peace, too, lie a great deal opener than it does.'

It was justly complained of, by this great philosopher, that the part of grammar, which embraces particles, had been so much neglected. And this hint has probably had its effect in producing the increased attention, which has been paid to them by critics and grammarians since his time. Locke, though he is accused by Tooke of mistaking the nature of his own elaborate treatise, and of writing merely about words, when he imagined himself employed upon researches into the human understanding, despatches the subject of particles in a very short compass,

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concluding with the hope, that it may give occasion to reflect upon their use and force in language. While intellectual philosophers have disclaimed all obligation to trace their derivation and settle their meaning, grammarians have too often considered them as words of little consequence, whose construction and general import it is important to settle, but whose etymology is not much to be regarded. Without them we can express common truths in short axioms and direct assertions; but in order to frame hypotheses, and to connect propositions, on whose relation our reasoning may depend, to modify what is not absolute, and to disjoin things which must be distinguished from each other, the metaphysician, no less than the grammarian, must perceive how necessary they are. The metaphysician, especially, must be convinced, that all this cannot be done by means of words insignificant in themselves, and will gladly avail himself of the aid of the etymologist, so far as any light may be thrown on their true meaning. The derivation of these kinds of words is matter of curious inquiry; and finding that nouns and verbs are the basis of all discourse, and being able also to trace the origin of many particles in various languages to these primary parts of speech, it is not wonderful that certain philologists have deduced a universal conclusion from numerous examples, and have inferred that all those words, which are called adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions, are abbreviations merely, and are derived either immediately or remotely from nouns and verbs.

Tooke, in his Diversions of Purley, maintained this theory in its full extent, and, in support of it, he showed great ingenuity, and took unwearied pains to investigate the origin of the English particles. From the manner in which his name has often been mentioned, it seems to have been supposed, that he was the author of a new method of etymological research; that he pursued a trackless course, without a guide to conduct him; that he was carried forward to discovery by his own resistless curiosity; and that he was enabled to develope the truth, amidst all the darkness with which it was surrounded, by his own unaided sagacity. According to his own assertion, his conclusions were not deduced from individual examples, but his general reasoning *a priori* led him to the examination of particulars. The operations of his mind must have been of an extraordinary nature, or, on the other hand, very deceptive to himself; for, his reasoning having regard to the use of words themselves, and not to

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abstract notions, it would have been remarkable if those very words, to which his inquiries were directed, were not as well the occasion as the basis of his reasoning. An uncharitable critic might suspect, that he was led to make the assertion, to which we have alluded, from a wish to secure to himself the undivided reputation of a discoverer in the region of etymology; and that he expected, by his boldness, to repel the charge of having derived any hints from those who preceded him; from Scioppius, Vossius, or Perizonius; from the Messrs de Port Royal, or from Skinner. But through his long and elaborate solution of the word *that*, in its supposed conjunctive use, it seems hardly credible he should have been ignorant, that the Messrs de Port Royal had gone over the same process with *quod*, and had come precisely to the same result. The word *if*, he says, was examined by Skinner before him, and accounted for in the same manner; but, he adds, he knew it not till after he had completed his own investigation. By tracing the conjunctions to their primitives, the multifarious divisions of them would be superseded by such as are founded in the sense of the original words, which sense is now frequently unperceived or overlooked. Suppose, for instance, that, in Greek, the particle εἰ comes from the imperative ἴσθι, contracted εἰ, of ἴω; that in Latin *si*, *sin*, are from *sine*, imperative of *sinere*, or more probably from *sit*; and that in English, *if* is from the Saxon imperative *gif*, of the verb *to give*; we have a very good reason, founded in the signification of the original verbs, why they should imply condition or concession. In the verb *licet*, we perceive an example of direct appropriation, from the verb that denotes allowing or permitting, to a different use as a conjunction, but implying as before the concession or granting of something. And the equivalent word in English, *though* or *although*, is derived from an obsolete verb of similar signification.

Many of the English conjunctions are satisfactorily traced by Tooke to nouns and verbs. The same is done in regard to prepositions, which, he observes, as well as conjunctions, are to be found among the other parts of speech. 'The same kind of corruption' (a favorite word of his to denote every refinement and change) 'has disguised both conjunctions and prepositions; and ignorance of their true origin has betrayed grammarians and philosophers into the mysterious and contradictory language, which they have held concerning them.' He has

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pursued his investigations further in respect to prepositions as well as conjunctions, than any one who preceded him; and has thus been enabled to point out more exactly the kind of relations which they denote, and in some degree to diminish the vague notion commonly entertained concerning them, which is not removed by the usual manner in which they are treated even in philosophical works on language. It had been discovered long before his time, that some of the prepositions had their origin in nouns and participles; but this was considered as an accident, which accounted for a few only, and the great mass was supposed to constitute a class of words whose derivation was either obscure or wholly unknown, and whose signification not being inherent, was pointed out by the relation in which each one stood to other words. It is not surprising, that advantage should be taken of the seeming contradiction of grammarians on this subject, who, while they acknowledge that these words denote relations primarily of place, and afterwards those of a moral nature, deny that they have any independent signification. It is from such unfortunate mistakes, rather than from any defect in their general principles of analysis, that Tooke often claims, and that we cannot forbear to concede to him a triumph over men of great learning and acuteness. And yet we cannot always restrain an emotion of disgust at the mean and petty quibbles, the weak and puerile gasconade, that pervade his writings, whenever he conceives that he has detected an instance of mistake or of ignorance in his predecessors.

The adverb no less than the conjunction and preposition were traced by the same author to the other principal parts of speech. And here certainly he could make no fair pretensions to novelty in his researches, though he was the first etymologist who extended his inquiries to any great variety of words in the English language. The limits of that class of words called adverbs, have never been very precisely defined. An old Latin grammarian observed, that whenever a word deviates from its ordinary manner of signifying, it passes into an adverb; and from the custom of giving this name to all words, that cannot elsewhere be classed, it is called by Tooke, 'the common sink and repository of all heterogeneous and unknown corruptions.' The author of the Port Royal Latin Grammar traced a large number of the Latin adverbs to their origin; some of which are found to be certain cases of obsolete nouns, and some, relatives or verbs either entire or abbreviated, in composition with other words. In Tooke's

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writings we find, as well in regard to adverbs, as concerning the other particles, a very minute examination of some of those words whose derivation is obscure, and whose origin had not been discovered. This examination is followed, as might be expected, with various degrees of success; for though it is frequently satisfactory, it is sometimes only probable, and sometimes altogether fanciful. His laborious researches into the origin of particles were confined chiefly to the English language; but though they were thus limited for the most part to a single language, they appear to have been sufficiently arduous. He travelled through the barbarous regions of the north; disturbed the Saxon and Gothic remains; came back again, and intermeddled with the chaotic English of the fourteenth century, and pursued the abbreviations in discourse amidst all their corruptions, and in all their gradations and varieties through the mire of Chaucer, the harsh numbers of Gawin Douglas, and the crudities of Sir Thomas More, down to recent times. Having done all this, the conclusion from the whole, in his opinion, is, that 'there is no such thing as an adverb, preposition, or conjunction in any language; and that most of the words so called, may, by a skilful herald, be traced home to their own family and origin, without having recourse to mystery and contradiction with Harris, or with Locke cleaving open the head of man to give these words such a birth as Minerva's from the brain of Jupiter.' In all this, however, it must be observed, and in more like it, he has much voluntary contention with imaginary adversaries, and phantoms of his own raising.

As we have been led to this general view of the theory and actual researches of Tooke, which were in some degree novel, and which are certainly very ingenious, we shall subjoin a very few remarks on their utility. If we measure his deserts by the number of words that he has traced to their primitive parentage, and admit that he is correct in his genealogies, we must confer on him the praise of being a more thorough etymologist than any who preceded him upon the English language, so far as the origin of particles or abbreviations in discourse is the subject of inquiry. His labors in this province, as they were accompanied by a considerable share of success, so also they are to a certain degree useful. But, like every discoverer, he was disposed to overrate the value of what he had found by his toil and perseverance, and sometimes to insist upon the practical utility of what serves rather to gratify curiosity, than to impart any new

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power to words, as instruments of thought, in promoting the perfection of discourse. In cases where the derivation of words is such, that the sense corresponds with what custom has established, it yields some satisfaction to a philosophical critic to be able to vindicate custom by the aid of etymology. But he can proceed no farther. He can indeed always avoid what he conceives to be wrong in the use of words, but his authority will not be sufficient, in defiance of general usage, to adopt that, which, by etymological speculation merely, appears to be right. Established usage, therefore, must be the test of criticism. For of what consequence would it be to the scholar to know, that *cur*, in Latin, is an abbreviation of *cui rei*; *deinceps*, of *dein* and *capio;* that in English, *if* is derived from the Saxon imperative *gif*, and that *for* is corrupted from the Gothic noun signifying *cause*, if the idiom of the respective languages in which these words are found were not a sure guide, from whose direction we can scarcely deviate by accident, and should always be unwilling to deviate by design. In learning to write or speak a language, our object is to conform to the genius and idiom of that language, determined by those who write and speak it in the best manner; and if, in the zeal of showing our discoveries, we should reject everything that does not comport with what we find to have been the original use of terms, and endeavor to settle everything in speech by an exactly graduated genealogical scale, we should merely gratify a foolish vanity at the expense of convenience, and the hazard of ridicule and contempt. The thorough going etymologist may feel in a sad dilemma in his use of words when he finds them to be a corrupted issue from their northern ancestors; but for ourselves, the alternative is neither alarming nor difficult, when we are driven to the choice either of corrupting the Teutonic, or our good vernacular English, as it has existed for more than a century past.

If we should seem to have wandered out of our way, the only apology we can make, is, that we have followed whither we were led by Mr Lewis; and probably it has been more amusing to us, than it will be to most of our readers, to pass cursorily over a ground, which few are tempted to explore. We are not often called upon to examine works of this kind, proceeding from our own citizens; but they are not the less welcome because of their infrequency. There is no reason why we should not cultivate philology, and particularly our vernacular language, as much as if we were English born. And while we are so

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often called to welcome the various productions of our statesmen and professional men, they in turn will not look contemptuously upon learned and ingenious philologers, to whom they owe some obligations, for their critical labors. We may fairly apply to every species of eloquence and oratory in our own language, what Cicero remarked concerning his; *Solum quidem et quasi fundamentum oratoris vides locutionem emendatam et Latinam.* By conforming to his own rigid maxim, we never find either that his sentiment was impoverished, or that his vehemence was checked, or that his imagination was held in durance and chains.

ART. VII.—*The Songs of Scotland, Ancient and Modern; with an Introduction and Notes, Historical and Critical, and the Characters of the Lyric Poets.* By ALLAN CUNNINGHAM. *In four volumes. London.* 1825. 12mo.

IT is remarkable, that poetry, which is esteemed so much more difficult than prose among cultivated people, should universally have been the form which man, in the primitive stages of society, has adopted for the easier developement of his ideas. It may be, that the infancy of nations, like that of individuals, is more taken up with imagination and sentiment than with reasoning, and is thus instinctively led to verse, as best suited, by its sweetness and harmony, to the expression of passionate thought. It may be, too, that the refinements of modern criticism have multiplied rather than relieved the difficulties of the art. The ancient poet poured forth his *carmina incondita*, without any other ambition than that of accommodating them to the natural music of his own ear, careless of the punctilious observances, which the fastidious taste of a polished age so peremptorily demands. However this may be, it is certain, that poetry is more ancient than prose in the records of every nation, and that this poetry is found in its earliest stages almost always allied with music. Thus the Rhapsodies of Homer were chanted to the sound of the lyre by the wandering bards of Ionia; thus the citharœdi of the ancient Romans, the Welch harper, the Saxon gleeman, the Scandinavian scald, and the Norman minstrel, soothed the sensual appetites of an unlettered

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age by the more exalted charms of poetry and music. This precocious poetical spirit seems to have been more widely diffused among the modern than the ancient European nations. The astonishing perfection of the Homeric epics, makes it probable, it is true, that there must have been previously a diligent cultivation of the divine art among the natives.*

The introduction of the bards Phemius and Demo'docus into the Odyssey, shows also that minstrelsy had long been familiar to Homer's countrymen. This, after all, however, is but conjecture, as no undisputed fragments of this early age have come down to us. The Romans, we know, were not till a very late period moved by the *impetus sacer*. One or two devotional chants, and a few ribald satires are all that claim to be antiquities in their prosaic literature.

It was far otherwise with the nations of modern Europe. Whether the romantic institutions of the age, or the warmth of classic literature not wholly extinguished, awakened this general enthusiasm, we know not; but no sooner had the thick darkness, which for centuries had settled over the nations, begun to dissipate, than the voice of song was heard in the remotest corners of Europe, where heathen civilization had never ventured; from the frozen isles of Britain and Scandinavia, no less than from the fertile shores of Italy and Provence. We do not mean, that the light of song was totally extinguished, even at the darkest period. It may be faintly discerned in the barbaric festivals of Attila, himself the theme of more than one venerable German romance; and at a later period in the comparatively refined courts of Alfred and Charlemagne.

But it was not until the eleventh or twelfth century, that refinement of taste was far advanced among the nations of Europe; that, in spite of all the obstacles of a rude, unconcocted dialect, the foundations and the forms of their poetical literature were cast, which, with some modification, they have retained ever since. Of these the ballads may be considered as coming more immediately from the body of the people. In no country did they take such deep root as in Spain and Scotland; and although cultivated more or less by all the northern races, yet nowhere else have they had the good fortune, by their own intrinsic beauty, and by the influence they have exerted over the popular

* Nec dubitari debet quin fuerint ante Homerum poetæ. *Cic. Brut.* 18.

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character, to constitute so important a part of the national literature. The causes of this are to be traced to the political relations of these countries. Spain, divided into a number of petty principalities, which contended with each other for preeminence, was obliged to carry on a far more desperate struggle for existence as well as religion, with its Saracen invaders; who, after advancing their victorious crescent from the Arabian desert to the foot of the Pyrenees, had established a solid empire over the fairest portions of the peninsula. Seven long centuries was the ancient Spaniard reclaiming, inch by inch, this conquered territory; thus a perpetual crusade was carried on, and the fertile fields of Andalusia and Grenada became the mimic theatre of exploits similar to those performed by the martial enthusiasts of Europe, on a much greater scale, indeed, on the plains of Palestine. The effect of all this was to infuse into their popular compositions a sort of devotional heroism, which is to be looked for in vain in any other. The existence of the Cid, so early as the eleventh century, was a fortunate event for Spanish poetry. The authenticated actions of that chief are so nearly allied to the marvellous, that, like Achilles, he forms a convenient *nucleus* for the manifold fictions in which successive bards have enveloped him. The ballads relating to this doughty hero have been collected into a sort of patchwork epic, whose fabrication thus resembles that imputed to those ancient poems, which some modern critics have determined to be but a tissue of rhapsodies executed by different masters. But, without comparing them with the epics of Homer in symmetry of design or perfection of versification, we may reasonably claim for them a moral elevation not inferior, and a tone of courtesy and generous gallantry altogether unknown to the heroes of the Iliad.

The most interesting of the Spanish ballads are those relating to the Moors. This people, now so degraded in every intellectual and moral aspect, were, as is well known, in the ninth and tenth centuries, the principal depositaries of useful science and elegant art. This is particularly true of the Spanish Caliphate; and more than one Christian prelate is on record, who, in a superstitious age, performed a literary pilgrimage to the schools of Cordova, and drank from these profane sources of wisdom. The peculiarities of oriental costume; their showy military exercises; their perilous bull feasts and cane fights; their chivalric defiance and rencontres with the Christian knights on the

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plains before the assembled city; their brilliant revels, romantic wooings, and midnight serenades, afforded rich themes for the muse; above all, the capture and desolation of Grenada, that 'city without peer,' the 'pride of Heathendom,' on which the taste and treasures of the western Caliphs had been lavished for seven centuries, are detailed in a tone of melancholy grandeur, which comes over us like the voice of an expiring nation.*

One trait has been pointed out in these poems most honorable to the Spanish character, and in which, in later times, it has been lamentably deficient, that of religious toleration; we find none of the fierce bigotry, which armed the iron hand of the Inquisition; which cooly condemned to exile or the stake a numerous native population for an honest difference of religious opinion, and desolated with fire and sword the most flourishing of their Christian provinces.†

The ancient Spaniard, on the contrary, influenced by a more enlightened policy as well as by humanity, contracted familiar intimacies, nay, even matrimonial alliances, with his Mahometan rivals, and the proudest of their nobles, did not disdain, in an honest cause, to fight under the banners of the Infidel. It would be a curious study to trace the progress and the causes of this pitiable revolution in national feeling.

The Spaniards have good reason to cherish their ancient ballads, for nowhere is the high Castilian character displayed to such advantage. Haughty, it is true, jealous of insult, and without the tincture of letters, which throws a lustre over the polished court of Charles and Philip; but also without the avarice, the insatiable cruelty, and dismal superstition, which

* An ancient Arabian writer concludes a florid eulogium on the architecture and local beauties of Grenada in the fourteenth century, with likening it, in oriental fashion, to 'a richly wrought vase of silver, filled with jacinths and emeralds.' *Historia de los Arabes de España*, tom. III. p. 147. Among the ballads relating to the Moorish wars, two of the most beautiful are the 'Lament over Alhama,' indifferently translated by Byron, and that beginning with 'En la ciudad de Grenada,' rendered by Lockhart with his usual freedom and vivacity. *Hita*, I. 464; and *Depping*, 240.

† The persecutions in the Netherlands, as recorded by a respectable English historian, are familiar to every one. The original documents, lately compiled and published by Llorente, secretary of the Inquisition, show, that no less than 341,000 persons have suffered capital or other punishment in Spain, by order of this terrible tribunal. *Hist. de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*, tom. IV. p. 271.

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deface the bright page of their military renown.* The Cid himself, whose authentic history may vindicate the hyperbole of romance, was the *beau idéal* of chivalry.†

The peculiarities of early Scottish poetry may also be referred, in a great degree, to the political relations of the nation, which for many centuries was distracted by all the rancorous dissensions incident to the ill balanced fabric of feudal government. The frequent and long regencies, always unfavorable to civil concord, multiplied the sources of jealousy, and armed with new powers the factious aristocracy. In the absence of legitimate authority, each baron sought to fortify himself by the increased number of his retainers, who, in their turn, willingly attached themselves to the fortunes of a chief, who secured to them plunder and protection. Hence a system of clanship was organized, more perfect and more durable than has existed in any other country, and which is not entirely effaced at the present day. To the nobles, who garrisoned the marches, still greater military powers were necessarily delegated for purposes of state defence; and the names of Home, Douglas, and Buccleuch, make a far more frequent and important figure in national history, than that of the reigning sovereign. Hence private feuds were inflamed and vindicated by national antipathies, and a pretext of patriotism was never wanting to justify perpetual hostility. Hence the scene of the old ballads was laid chiefly on the borders, and hence the minstrels of the 'North Countrie' obtained such preeminence over their musical brethren.

* Sufficient evidence of this may be found in works of imagination, as well as the histories of the period. The plays of Lope de Vega, for instance, are filled with all manner of perfidy and assassination, which take place as a matter of course, and without the least compunction. In the same spirit, the barbarous excesses of his countrymen in South America, are detailed by Ercilla in his historical Epic, *La Araucana*. The flimsy pretext of conscience, for which these crimes are perpetrated, cannot veil their enormity from any but the eyes of the offender.

† The veracity of the traditionary history of the Cid, indeed his existence, discussed and denied by Masdeu, in his *Historia Critica de España*, has been satisfactorily established by the learned Müller; and the conclusions of the latter writer are recently confirmed by Conde's posthumous publication of translated Arabian manuscripts of great antiquity; where the Cid is repeatedly mentioned, as the Chief known by the name of the Warrior, *el Campeador;* 'the Cid whom Alla curse;' 'the tyrant Cid;' 'the accursed Cid,' &c. *See Historia de los Arabes de España*, II. 82.

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The odious passion of revenge, which seems adapted by nature to the ardent temperaments of the south, but which, even there, has been mitigated by the spirit of Christianity, glowed with fierce heat in the bosoms of those northern savages. An offence to the meanest individual was espoused by his whole clan, and was expiated not by the blood of the offender only, but by that of his whole kindred. The sack of a peaceful castle, and the slaughter of its sleeping inhabitants, seem to have been as familiar occurrences to these Border heroes, as the lifting of a drove of cattle, and attended with as little compunction. The following pious invocation, uttered on the eve of an approaching foray, may show the acuteness of their moral sensibility.

He that ordained us to be born
Send us mair meat for the morn,
Come by right or come by wrang,
Christ, let us not fast owre lang,
But blithely spend what 's gaily got,—
Ride, Rowland, hough 's i' the pot.

When superstition usurps the place of religion, there will be little morality among the people. The only law they knew, was the command of their chief; and the only one he admitted, was his sword. 'By what right,' said a Scottish prince to a marauding Douglas, 'do you hold these lands?' 'By that of my sword,' he answered.

From these causes the early Scottish poetry is deeply tinged with a gloomy ferocity, and abounds in details of cool, deliberate cruelty. It is true, that this is frequently set off, as in the fine old ballads of Chevy Chase and Auld Maitland, by such deeds of rude but heroic gallantry, as, in the words of Sydney, 'stir the soul like the sound of a trumpet.' But, on the whole, although the scene of the oldest ballads is pitched as late as the fourteenth century, the manners they exhibit are not much superior, in point of refinement and humanity, to those of our own North American savages.*

From wanton or vindictive cruelty, especially when exercised on the defenceless or the innocent, the cultivated mind naturally shrinks with horror and disgust. But it was long ere the stern hearts of our English ancestors yielded to the soft impulses of

* For proof of this assertion, see 'Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border,' and in particular the ballads of 'Jellon Grame,' 'Young Benjie,' 'Lord William,' 'Duel of Wharton and Stuart,' 'Death of Featherstonehaugh,' 'Douglas Tragedy,' &c.

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mercy and benevolence. The reigns of the Norman dynasty are written in characters of fire and blood. As late as the conclusion of the fourteenth century, we find the Black Prince, the 'flower of English knighthood,' as Froissart styles him, superintending the butchery of three thousand unresisting captives, men, women, and children, who vainly clung to him for mercy. The general usage of surrendering as hostages their wives and children, whose members were mutilated, or lives sacrificed on the least infraction of their engagements, is a still better evidence of the universal barbarism of the so much lauded age of chivalry.

Another trait in the old Scotch poetry, and of a very opposite nature from that we have been describing, is its occasional sensibility; touches of genuine pathos are found scattered among the cold, appalling passions of the age, like the flowers which, in Switzerland, are said to bloom alongside the avalanche. No state of society is so rude as to extinguish the spark of natural affection; tenderness for our own offspring, is but a more enlarged selfishness, perfectly compatible with the utmost ferocity towards others. Hence scenes of parental and filial attachment are to be met with in these poems, which cannot be read without emotion. The passion of love appears to have been a favorite study with the ancient English writers; and by none, in any language we have read, is it managed with so much art and feeling as by the dramatic writers of Queen Elizabeth's day. The Scottish minstrels, with less art, seem to be entitled to the praise of possessing an equal share of tenderness. In the Spanish ballad, love glows with the fierce ardor of a tropical sun. The amorous serenader celebrates the beauties of his Zayda (the name, which, from its frequency, would seem to be a general title for a Spanish mistress) in all the florid hyperbole of oriental gallantry, or, as a diappointed lover, wanders along the banks of the Guadalete, imprecating curses on her head, and vengeance on his devoted rival. The calm dejection and tender melancholy, which are diffused over the Scottish lovesongs, are far more affecting than all this turbulence of passion. The sensibility which, even in a rude age, seems to have characterized the Scottish female, was doubtless nourished by the solemn complexion of the scenery by which she was surrounded, by the sympathies continually awakened for her lover in his career of peril and adventure, and by the facilities afforded her for brooding over her misfortunes in the silence of rural solitude.

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To similar physical causes may be principally referred those superstitions, which are so liberally diffused over the poetry of Scotland down to the present day. The tendency of wild, solitary districts, darkened with mountains and extensive forests, to raise in the mind ideas of solemn, preternatural awe, has been noticed from the earliest ages. 'Where is a lofty and deeply shaded grove,' writes Seneca in one of his epistles, 'filled with venerable trees, whose interlacing boughs shut out the face of heaven, the grandeur of the wood, the silence of the place, the shade so dense and uniform, infuse into the breast the notion of a divinity;' and thus the speculative fancy of the ancients, always ready to supply the apparent void of nature, garrisoned each grove, fountain, or grotto, with some local and tutelary genius. These sylvan deities, clothed with corporeal figures, and endowed with mortal appetites, were brought near to the level of humanity. But the Christian revelation, which assures us of another world, is the 'evidence of things unseen;' and while it dissipates the gross and sensible creations of classic mythology, raises our conceptions to the spiritual and the infinite. In our eager thirst for communication with the world of spirits, we naturally imagine it can only be through the medium of spirits like themselves; and in the vulgar creed, these apparitions never come from the abodes of the blessed, but from the tomb, where they are supposed to await the period of a final and universal resurrection, and whence they are allowed to 'revisit the glimpses of the moon,' for penance or some other inscrutable purpose. Hence the gloomy, undefined character of the modern apparition, is much more appalling than the sensual and social personifications of antiquity.

The natural phenomena of a wild uncultivated country, greatly conspire to promote the illusions of the fancy. The power of clouds to reflect, to distort, and to magnify objects, is well known; and on this principle, many of the preternatural appearances in the German mountains and the Scottish Highlands, whose lofty summits and unreclaimed valleys are shrouded in clouds and exhalations, have been ingeniously and philosophically explained. The solitary peasant, as the shades of evening close around him, witnesses with dismay the gathering phantoms, and hurrying home, retails his adventures with due amplification. What is easily believed is easily seen, and the marvellous incident is soon placed beyond dispute by a multitude of testimonies. The appetite, once excited, is keen in detecting other

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visions and prognostics, which as speedily circulate through the channels of rustic tradition, until in time each glen and solitary heath has its unearthly visitants, each family its omen or boding spectre; and superstition, systematized into a science, is expounded by indoctrinated wizards and gifted seers.

In addition to these fancies, common, though in a less degree, to other nations, the inhabitants of the North have inherited a more material mythology, which has survived the elegant fictions of Greece and Rome, either because it was not deemed of sufficient importance to provoke the arm of the church, or because it was too nearly accommodated to the moral constitution of the people to be thus easily eradicated. The character of a mythology is always intimately connected with that of the scenery and climate in which it is invented. Thus the graceful Nymphs and Naiads of Greece; the Peris of Persia, who are said to live in the colors of the rainbow, and exist on the odors of flowers; the Fairies of England, who in airy circles 'dance their ringlets to the whistling wind,' have the frail gossamer forms and delicate functions congenial with the beautiful countries which they inhabit; while the Elves, Bogles, Brownies, Kelpies, &c. which seem to have legitimately descended, in ancient Highland verse, from the Scandinavian Dvergar, Nisser, &c. are of a stunted and malignant aspect, and are celebrated for nothing better than maiming cattle, bewildering the benighted traveller, and conjuring out the souls of newborn infants. Within the memory of the present generation, very well authenticated anecdotes of these ghostly kidnappers have been circulated and greedily credited in the Scottish Highlands. But the sunshine of civilization is rapidly dispelling the lingering mists of superstition. The spirits of darkness love not the cheerful haunts of men; and the bustling activity of an increasing, industrious population, allows brief space for the fears or inventions of fancy.

The fierce aspect of the Scottish ballad was mitigated under the general tranquillity, which followed the accession of James to the united crowns of England and Scotland; and the Northern muse might have caught some of the inspiration, which fired her southern sister at this remarkable epoch, had not the fatal prejudices of her sovereign in favor of an English or even a Latin idiom, diverted his ancient subjects from the cultivation of their own. As it was, Drummond of Hawthornden, whose melodious and melancholy strains, however, are to be enrolled among English verse, is the most eminent name, which adorns

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the scanty annals of this reign. The civil and religious broils, which, by the sharp concussion they gave to the English intellect during the remainder of this unhappy century, seem to have forced out every latent spark of genius, served only to repress or exacerbate the less polished muse of the North. The austerity of the reformers chilled the sweet flow of social song, and the only verse in vogue was a kind of rude satire, sometimes pointed at the licentiousness of the Roman clergy, and sometimes at the formal affectation of the Puritans, but which, from the coarseness of the execution, and the transitory interest of its topics, has for the most part been consigned to a decent oblivion.

The Revolution, in 1688, and the subsequent union of the two kingdoms by the permanent assurance they gave of civil and religious liberty, and lastly, the establishment of parochial schools about the same period, by that wide diffusion of intelligence among the lower orders, which has elevated them above every other European peasantry, had a most sensible influence on the moral and intellectual progress of the nation. Improvements in art and agriculture were introduced; the circle of ideas was expanded, and the feelings liberalized by a free communication with their southern neighbours; and religion, resigning much of her austerity, lent a prudent sanction to the hilarity of social intercourse. Popular poetry naturally reflects the habits and prevailing sentiments of a nation. The ancient notes of the border trumpet were exchanged for the cheerful sounds of rustic revelry; and the sensibility, which used to be exhausted on subjects of acute but painful interest, now celebrated the temperate pleasures of domestic happiness, and rational, though romantic love.

The rustic glee, which had put such mettle into the compositions of James the First and Fifth, those royal poets of the commonalty, as they have been aptly styled, was again renewed; ancient songs, purified from their original vices of sentiment or diction, were revived; new ones were accommodated to ancient melodies; and a revolution was gradually effected in Scottish verse, which experienced little variation during the remainder of the eighteenth century. The existence of a national music is essential to the entire success of lyrical poetry. It may be said, indeed, to give wings to song, which, in spite of its imperfections, is thus borne along, from one extremity of the nation to the other, with a rapidity denied to many a nobler composition.

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Thus allied, verse not only represents the present, but the past; and, while it invites us to repose or to honorable action, its tones speak of joys which are gone, or wake in us the recollections of ancient glory.

It is impossible to trace the authors of a large portion of the popular lyrics of Scotland, which, like its native wild flowers, seem to have sprung up spontaneously in the most sequestered solitudes of the country. Many of these poets, even, who are familiar in the mouths of their own countrymen, are better known south of the Tweed by the compositions, which, under the title of 'Scottish Melodies,' are diligently thrummed by every Miss in her teens, than by their names; while some few others, as Ramsay, Ferguson, &c. whose independent tomes maintain higher reputation, are better known by their names than their compositions, which, much applauded, are, we suspect, but little read.

The union of Scotland with England was unpropitious to the language of the former country; at least, it prevented it from attaining a classical perfection, which some perhaps may not regret, as being in its present state a better vehicle for the popular poetry, which is so consonant with the genius of the nation. Under Edward the First, the two nations spoke the same language, and the formidable epics of Barbour and Blind Harry, his contemporaries, are cited by Warton, as superior models of English versification. After the lapse of five centuries, the Scottish idiom retains a much greater affinity with the original stock than does the English; but the universal habit with the Scotch of employing the latter in works of taste or science, and of relinquishing their own idiom to the more humble uses of the people, has degraded it to the unmerited condition of a provincial dialect. Few persons care to bestow much time in decyphering a vocabulary, which conceals no other treasures than those of popular fancy and tradition.

A genius like Burns, indeed, may do, and doubtless has done much, to diffuse a knowledge and a relish for his native idiom. His character as a poet has been too often canvassed by writers and biographers to require our panegyric. We define it, perhaps, as concisely as may be, by saying, that it consisted of an acute sensibility, regulated by uncommon intellectual vigor. Hence, his frequent visions of rustic love and courtship never sink into mawkish sentimentality; his quiet pictures of domestic life are without insipidity; and his mirth is

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not the unmeaning ebullition of animal spirits, but is pointed with the reflection of a keen observer of human nature. This latter talent, less applauded in him than some others, is in our opinion his most eminent. Without the grace of La Fontaine, or the broad buffoonery of Berni, he displays the same facility of illuminating the meanest topics, seasons his humor with as shrewd a moral, and surpasses both in a generous sensibility, which gives an air of truth and cordiality to all his sentiments. Lyrical poetry admits of less variety than any other species, and Burns, from this circumstance, as well as from the flexibility of his talents, may be considered as the representative of his whole nation. Indeed his universal genius seems to have concentrated within itself the rays, which were scattered among his predecessors; the simple tenderness of Crawford, the fidelity of Ramsay, and careless humor of Ferguson. The Doric dialect of his country was an instrument peculiarly fitted for the expression of his manly and unsophisticated sentiments. But no one is more indebted to the national music than Burns; embalmed in the sacred melody, his songs are familiar to us from childhood, and, as we read them, the silver sounds with which they have been united, seem to linger in our memory, heightening and prolonging the emotions which the sentiments have excited.

Mr Cunningham, to whom it is high time we should turn, in some prefatory reflections on the condition of Scottish poetry, laments exceedingly the improvements in agriculture and mechanics, the multiplication of pursuits, the wider expansion of knowledge, which have taken place among the peasantry of Scotland, during the present century.

'Change of condition, increase of knowledge,' says he, 'the calling in of machinery to the aid of human labor, and the ships, which whiten the ocean with their passing and repassing sails, wafting luxuries to our backs and our tables, are all matters of delight to the historian or the politician; but of sorrow to the poet, who delights in the primitive glory of a people, and contemplates with pain all changes, which lessen the original vigor of character, and refine mankind till they become too sensitive for enjoyment. Man has now to labor harder and longer; to shape out new ways to riches, and even bread, and feel the sorrows of the primeval curse, a hot and sweaty brow, more frequently and more severely than his ancestors; all this is uncongenial to the creation of song, where many of our finest songs

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have been created; and to its enjoyment, where it was long and fondly enjoyed, among the peasantry of Scotland.' *Preface.*

These circumstances certainly will be matter of delight to the historian and politician, and we doubt if they afford any reasonable cause of lamentation to the poet. An age of rudeness and ignorance is not the most propitious to a flourishing condition of the art, which indulges quite as much in visions of the past as the present, in recollections as in existing occupations; and this is not only true of civilized, but of ruder ages; the forgotten bards of the Niebelungen and the Heldenbuch, of the romances of Arthur and of Charlemagne, looked back through the vista of seven hundred years for their subjects; and the earliest of the Border minstrelsy celebrates the antique feuds of a preceding century. On the other hand, a wider acquaintance with speculative and active concerns may be thought to open a bolder range of ideas and illustrations to the poet. Examples of this may be discerned among the Scottish poets of the present age; and if the most eminent, as Scott, Campbell, Joanna Baillie, &c. have deserted their natural dialect, and the humble themes of popular interest, for others better suited to their aspiring genius, and for a language which could diffuse and perpetuate their compositions, it can hardly be matter for serious reproach even with their own countrymen. But this is not true of Scott, who has always condescended to illuminate the most rugged and meanest topics relating to his own nation, and who has revived in his 'Minstrelsy,' not merely the costume, but the spirit of the ancient Border muse of love and chivalry.

In a similar tone of lamentation, Mr Cunningham deprecates the untimely decay of superstitition throughout the land. But the seeds of superstition are not thus easily eradicated; its grosser illusions, indeed, may, as we have before said, be scattered by the increasing light of science; but the principal difference between a rude and a civilized age, at least as regards poetical fiction, is, that the latter requires more skill and plausibility in working up the *matériel* than the former. The witches of Macbeth are drawn too broadly to impose on the modern spectator, as they probably did on the credulous age of Queen Bess; but the apparition in Job, or the Bodach Glas in Waverley is shadowed with a dim and mysterious portraiture, that inspires a solemn interest quite sufficient for the purposes of poetry. The philosophic mind may smile with contempt at popular fancies, convinced that the

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general experience of mankind contradicts the existence of apparitions; that the narratives of them are vague and ill authenticated; that they never or rarely appeal to more than one sense, and that the most open to illusion; that they appear only in moments of excitement, and in seasons of solitude and obscurity; that they come for no explicable purpose, and effect no perceptible result; and that, therefore, they may in every case be safely imputed to a diseased or a deluded imagination. But if, in the midst of these solemn musings, our philosopher's candle should chance to go out, it is not quite certain, that he would continue to pursue them with the same stoical serenity. In short, no man is quite so much a hero in the dark as in broad daylight, in solitude as in society, in the gloom of the churchyard as in the blaze of the drawing room. The season and the place may be such as to oppress the stoutest heart with a mysterious awe, which, if not fear, is near akin to it. We read of adventurous travellers, who, through a sleepless night, have defied the perilous nonentities of a haunted chamber, and the very interest we take in their exploits proves, that the superstitious principle is not wholly extinguished in our own bosoms. So, indeed, do the mysterious inventions of Mrs Radcliffe and her ghostly school; of our own Brown, in a most especial manner; and Scott, ever anxious to exhibit the speculative as well as practical character of his countrymen, has more than once appealed to the same general principle. Doubtless, few in this enlightened age are disposed boldly to admit the existence of these spiritual phenomena; but fewer still there are, who have not enough of superstitious feeling lurking in their bosoms for all the purposes of poetical interest.

Mr Cunningham's work consists of four volumes of lyrics, in a descending series from the days of Queen Mary to our own. The more ancient, after the fashion of Burns and Ramsay, he has varnished over with a coloring of diction, that gives greater lustre to their faded beauties, occasionally restoring a mutilated member, which time and oblivion had devoured. Our author's prose, consisting of a copious preface and critical notices, is both florid and pedantic; it continually aspires to the vicious affectation of poetry, and explains the most common sentiments by a host of illustrations and images, thus perpetually reminding us of the children's play of 'What is it like?' As a poet, his fame has long been established; and the few original pieces, which he has introduced into the present collection, have the

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ease and natural vivacity conspicuous in his former compositions. We will quote one or two, which we presume are the least familiar to our readers.

A wet sheet and a flowing sea,
A wind that follows fast
And fills the white and rustling sail,
And bends the gallant mast!
And bends the gallant mast, my boys,
While, like the eagle, free,
Away the good ship flies, and leaves
Old England on the lea.

O for a soft and gentle wind!
I heard a fair one cry;
But give to me the swelling breeze,
And white waves heaving high;
And white waves heaving high, my lads,
The good ship tight and free;
The world of waters is our home,
And merry men are we.

There 's tempest in yon horned moon,
And lightning in yon cloud;
And hark the music, mariners!
The wind is wakening loud.
The wind is wakening loud, my boys,
The lightning flashes free;
The hollow oak our palace is,
Our heritage the sea.

Vol. iv. p. 208.

This spirited water piece, worthy of Campbell, is one evidence, among others, of the tendency of the present improved condition of the Scottish peasantry to expand the beaten circle of poetical topics and illustrations. The following is as pretty a piece of fairy gossamer as has been spun out of this sceptical age.

SONG OF THE ELFIN MILLER.

Full merily rings the millstone round,
Full merrily rings the wheel,
Full merrily gushes out the grist;
Come taste my fragrant meal.
As sends the lift its snowy drift,
So the meal comes in a shower;
Work, fairies, fast,—for time flies past;
I borrow'd the mill an hour.

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The miller he 's a worldly man,
And maun have double fee;
So draw the sluice of the churl's dam,
And let the stream come free.
Shout, fairies, shout! see, gushing out,
The meal comes like a river;
The top of the grain on hill and plain
Is ours, and shall be ever.

One elf goes chasing the wild bat's wing,
And one the white owl's horn,
One hunts the fox for the white o' his tail,
And we winna have him till morn;
One idle fay, with the glow-worm's ray,
Runs glimmering 'mang the mosses,
Another goes tramp wi' the will-o-wisp's lamp,
To light a lad to the lasses.

O haste, my brown elf, bring me corn
From bonnie Blackwood plains;
Go, gentle fairy, bring me grain
From green Dalgonar mains;
But, pride of a' at Closeburn ha',
Fair is the corn and fatter;
Taste, fairies, taste, a gallanter grist
Has never been wet with water.

Hilloah! my hopper is heaped high;
Hark! to the well hung wheels,
They sing for joy;—the dusty roof,
It clatters and it reels.
Haste, elves, and turn yon mountain burn—
Bring streams that shine like siller;
The dam is down, the moon sinks soon,
And I maun grind my meller.

Ha! bravely done, my wanton elves,
That is a foaming stream;
See how the dust from the mill-ee flies,
And chokes the cold moon-beam.
Haste, fairies, fleet come baptized feet,
Come sack and sweep up clean,
And meet me soon, ere sinks the moon,
And thou maun speak of me.

Vol. IV. p. 327.

The last we can afford is a sweet amorous effusion in the best style of the romantic muse of the Lowlands. It has before found a place in the 'Nithsdale and Galloway' collection.

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Thou hast vow'd by thy faith, my Jeanie,
By that pretty white hand of thine,
And by all the lowing stars in heaven,
That thou would aye be mine;
And I have sworn by my faith, my Jeanie,
And by that kind heart of thine,
By all the stars sown thick o'er heaven,
That thou shalt aye be mine.

Foul fa' the hands wad loose sic bands,
And the heart would part sic love;
But there 's nae hand can loose the band,
But the finger of him above.
Though the wee wee cot maun be my bield,
And my clothing e'er sae mean,
I should lap me up rich in the faulds of love
Heaven's armfu' of my Jean.

Thy white arm wad be a pillow to me,
Far softer than the down;
And love wad winnow o'er us his kind, kind wings,
And sweetly we 'd sleep and soun'.
Come here to me, thou lass whom I love,
Come here and kneel wi' me,
The morning is full of the presence of God,
And I cannot pray but thee.

The wind is sweet amang the new flowers,
The wee birds sing saft on the tree,
Our goodman sits in the bonnie sunshine,
And a blithe old bodie is he;
The Beuk maun be ta'en when he comes hame,
Wi' the holie psalmodie,
And I will speak of thee when I pray,
In thy green vale, Dalveen.

Vol. iv. p. 308.

Our readers may think we have been detained too long by so humble a theme as old songs and ballads; yet a wise man has said, 'Give me the making of the ballads, and I care not who makes the laws of a nation.' Indeed, they will not be lightly regarded by those who consider their influence on the character of a simple, susceptible people, particularly in a rude age, when they constitute the authentic records of national history. Thus the wandering minstrel kindles in his unlettered audience, a generous emulation of the deeds of their ancestors; and while he sings the bloody feuds of the Zegris and Abencer-

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rages, the Percy and the Douglas, artfully fans the flame of an expiring hostility. Under these animating influences, the ancient Spaniard and the Border warrior displayed that stern military enthusiasm, which distinguished them above every other peasantry in Europe. Nor is this influence altogether extinguished in a polite age, when the narrow attachments of feudal servitude are ripened into a more expanded patriotism; the generous principle is nourished and invigorated in the patriot by the simple strains, which recount the honorable toils, the homebred joys, the pastoral adventures, the romantic scenery, which have endeared to him the land of his fathers. There is no moral cause, which operates more strongly in infusing a love of country into the mass of the people, than the union of a national music with popular poetry.

But these productions have an additional value in the eyes of the antiquarian to what is derived from their moral or political influence; as the repertory of the motley traditions and superstitions, that have descended for ages through the various races of the North. The researches of modern scholars have discovered a surprising affinity between the ancient Scottish ballad and the Teutonic, Scandinavian, and even Calmuck romance. Some of the most eminent of the old Border legends are almost literal versions of those which inflamed the martial ardor of our Danish ancestors.* A fainter relationship had before been detected between them, and Southern and Oriental fable. Thus in a barbarous age, when the nearest provinces of Europe had but a distant intercourse with each other, the electric spark of fancy seems to have run around the circle of the remotest regions, animating them with the same wild and original creations.

Even the lore of the nursery may sometimes ascend to as high an antiquity. The celebrated Whittington and his Cat can display a Teutonic pedigree of more than eight centuries; 'Jack, commonly called the Giant Killer, and Thomas Thumb,' says an antiquarian writer, 'landed in England from the very same keels and war ships, which conveyed Hengist, and Horsa, and Ebba the Saxon;' and the nursery maid, who chants the friendly monition to the 'Lady bird,' or narrates the 'fee-faw-fum' adventure of the carnivorous giant, little thinks she has purloined the stores of Teutonic song and Scandinavian my-

* Such are the 'The Childe of Elle,' 'Catharine and Janfarie,' 'Cospatrie,' 'Willie's Lady,' &c.

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thology.* The ingenious author, who, under the name of Doblado, has thrown great light on the character and condition of modern Spain, has devoted a chapter to tracing out the genealogies of the games and popular pastimes of his country. Something of the same kind might be attempted in the untrodden walks of nursery literature. Ignorance and youth are satisfied at no great cost of invention. The legend of one generation answers, with little variation, for the next; and, within the precincts of the nursery, obtains that imperishable existence, which has been the vain boast of many a loftier lyric. That the Mythology of one age should be abandoned to the 'Juvenile Cabinet' of another, is indeed curious. Thus the doctrines most venerated by man in the infancy of society, become the sport of infants in an age of civilization; furnishing a pleasing example of the progress of the human intellect, and a plausible coloring for the dream of perfectibility.

ART. VIII.—ΑΝΑΛΕΚΤΑ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ ΜΕΙΖΟΝΑ, *sive Collectanea Græca Majora, ad Usum Academicæ Juventutis accommodata; cum Notis Philologicis, quas partim collegit, partim scripsit* ANDREAS DALZEL, *A.M. &c. Editio quarta Americana, ex Auctoribus correcta, prioribus emendatior, cum Notis aliquot interjectis.* Cantabrigiæ, Mass. Sumtibus Cummings, Hilliard, et Soc. 1824. 2 vol. 8vo. [Stereotyped.]

WE have long been intending to take notice of this American edition of an approved class book, not so much in the belief, that any commendations of ours will give it an additional passport to public favor, as for the sake of expressing our unfeigned respect for its learned and accurate editor. Professor Popkin, than whom America has never produced a scholar more pro-

* 'Lady bird, Lady bird, fly away home,
Your house is on fire, your children will roam.'

This fragment of a respectable little poem has soothed the slumbers of the German infant for many ages. The Giant, who so cunningly scented the 'blood of an Englishman,' is the counterpart of the personage recorded in the collection of Icelandic mythology, made by Snorro in the thirteenth century. *Edda, Fable* 23.

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found in the department of Grecian learning, has here given us a better edition of this book, which has often made its appearance at Edinburgh and London, than any that preceded it. Accidental omissions have been restored; the text of the extracts carefully compared with the best editions of the authors; the references examined and altered where erroneous, and errors of the press removed; so that in all, at least *ten thousand* inaccuracies have been corrected. We do not say *ten thousand* by way of exaggeration, but, after a diligent examination, believe that that number is within the limits of exactness. With the notes, we could wish Professor Popkin had used more freedom. He has occasionally added a short remark; and wherever we see his name as authority for an observation, we are sure of finding it concisely expressed, and in itself valuable; and he shows his confidence in his own accuracy by often deciding questions of doubtful criticism.

The fact itself, that this stereotype edition of a large body of selections from Greek literature, should have been published among us, is in many respects worthy of remark. It augurs well of the state of learning, both by the manner in which the work has been superintended and executed, and by the liberality with which it is encouraged on the part of the public. To those who are fond of contrasts, it may seem a strange appointment of destiny, that the philosopher, who saw the new Atlantis only with the eye of imagination, should, at this late day, give lessons in morality to our Western world; and that the poet, who is believed by some to have conceived his master works and embodied them in language before letters were invented, should now have at least a portion of them preserved on stereotype plates in a hemisphere to him unknown.

It is far from our intention at this time to enter into any vindication of classical learning. Almost every view of the subject has already been publicly given. We shall at present only glance at a few objections, which we often hear strenuously urged against the study of antiquity. It is right, and maintained on all sides, that youth is to acquire that which manhood must use. If there are any to whom extended knowledge will be of no value, who are indifferent to the history of human culture, and have no interest in contemplating the various aspects under which intellectual power has been exhibited, we say they would better regulate their pursuits accordingly. Of what use is classical learning, or any liberal learning to them? In England

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we are told, that Greek and Latin are made the main pursuits, and yet are not acquired; that boys pass their time in devising the means of escaping from learning them. This proves, that the English schools need a reform in discipline, and proves no more. To be sure, men have attained to the highest eminence without liberal learning. Franklin, to name no less a name, is given as an example. But the argument proves too much or nothing. If it establishes anything, it shows the folly of methodical instruction altogether, and represents the printer's office, the ploughman's field, or the deck of a ship, as equally good schools for the high purposes of life. Yet the men, who advance this argument, do not practise by it. They do not attempt to cultivate the minds of their children by putting them to a trade, or keeping them on a farm, or sending them to sea. A man may rise above the condition of his youth; but he rises in spite of difficulties; it is cruel mockery to represent the matter to him in any other light. If he is great without the advantages of education; *idem ego contendo, cum ad naturam eximiam atque illustrem accesserit ratio quædam conformatioque doctrinæ, tum illud nescio quid præclarum ac singulare solere existere.*

Our country is an active, practical one; flourishing by commerce and agriculture, and domestic industry. Of what use are the classics to merchants, manufacturers, and farmers? Certainly a man will not fill the shelves of his countinghouse with Latin and Greek books; and the ancient writers would be out of place on Central wharf, or in Pearl street (we mean the Pearl street of our prosperous neighbours, for in our own the munificence of merchants has already made a most liberal establishment for learning and science of all kinds); but if the classics have nothing to do with merchandise, they may yet benefit the mind; they may not assist in doing business, and yet be of service in forming the character; they may not assist the merchant, and yet they may exalt the man.

But all things are changing; times and men, manners and pursuits. Once it was necessary for a man to know how to tilt at a tourney; and now he is not disgraced, though ignorant of the use of a lance. Once the yeomanry of Old England were expert in handling the crossbow; and now, though there may hardly be a crossbow in all New England, we are justly proud of our yeomanry. Certainly if the same reasoning can be applied to classical learning, the analogy is fair and irresistible. We have heard it asserted, that it does apply. We do not say, that

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it does not; only let the inference be founded on the hypothesis. If modern ages have produced such minds, that the master spirits of Greece are feeble in comparison; if 'the lifeblood embalmed and preserved' in their works is worth no more than an Egyptian mummy; if the modern muse has sung with such sweet accents, that the voice of the ancient goddess is comparatively harsh or shrill; if recent criticism has made the precepts of antiquity useless, and deprived their examples of majestic, impassioned, elevated, practical eloquence, of their value; it is then absurd to make use of classical studies for the purposes of education.

But then of what use, it is demanded, has learning been to the learned? Men, who have studied antiquity thoroughly, have yet written poorly; and scholars, who knew the Latin grammar by heart, have used English ill. It would be marvellous, indeed, if the classics were a corrective for dulness. So far their earnest admirers never went in their assertions. If a man of feeble mind, after long research, is the parent of but a feeble production, would he have done better, if left wholly to his own resources? If an unthrifty man, with a large capital given him, can yet do no business, would he have done more with no capital at all, and with no resources but his own shiftlessness? In the work of an inferior understanding, which has yet made valuable acquisitions, a curious fact or an ingenious remark may sometimes be found; but what can you expect from a dull man who knows nothing?

Let others, if they will, declaim against the pursuits of learning; we cannot join in the cry, which seems to us to be directed against the public good. For have we so much of erudition, that it is becoming a nuisance? Is there any danger in our country, that contemplative life will be too frequently embraced, or habits of study too generally cherished? For ourselves, it seems to us a duty to speak in behalf of letters, whenever we have opportunity; to be instant in that sacred cause, both in season and out of season. There are men enough, who are willing to embark in public life on 'the troubled sea of noises and hoarse disputes;' we rejoice when we hear of any, who have a taste for a 'calm and pleasing solitariness,' where, 'fed with cheerful and confident thoughts,' they may learn to behold 'the bright countenance of truth in the quiet and still air of delightful studies.'

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Though we have been led into a longer train of remarks, than we had intended, we are not willing, while expressing our respect for the learned Professor, to whom we owe this edition of the *Collectanea Majora*, to forego so good an opportunity of noticing in our Journal a European scholar, who through a long course of years stood first among the philologians of his time.

It is now nearly two years since Frederic Augustus Wolf died at an advanced age in the South of France, while travelling in the hope of finding, under a milder sky, some relief from the infirmities of years. This most celebrated scholar of our times was born of humble parents in 1757, at Hainrode, in the county of Hohenstein. Hardly was he seven years old, before he was entered at the Gymnasium in Nordhausen; and at seventeen, he repaired to the University of Göttingen. He brought with him the reputation of having already acquired, by private research, an extraordinary acquaintance with the works of the ancients. The love of his favorite study led him at once to Heyne, who questioned him on his plans of life. When he declared his intention of devoting himself to classical philology, Heyne, who had himself in the early part of his life suffered extremely from the want of pecuniary means, endeavored to dissuade him from it by explaining to him, how poor a prospect was opened to a man of learning. 'There are but three Professorships of Eloquence in all Germany,' said he. 'And one of those three I am determined to have,' replied the young aspirant; and, in in fact, before he was twentyseven he had gained his object. While at the university, Wolf was very capricious in his attendance on lectures, superciliously asserting, that little was to be learnt from them; and indeed throughout all his life, he was consistent in maintaining, that he had never derived any benefit from the instructions of Heyne. In 1777, Wolf, at Heyne's instance, received an appointment as a teacher in the Gymnasium of Ilfeld, a most retired and beautifully situated cloister in the vicinity of the Harz mountains. In the following year he was made Rector of the Latin school of Osterrode, a city in the district of the Harz mountains. In 1783, he accepted an invitation to become Professor of Eloquence in the University of Halle, where he pursued his high literary career with boldness, ardor, and, we believe, with prodigious, though irregular industry. The title of Privy Counsellor was given him in 1805, and when Halle was annexed to the kingdom of Westphalia, Wolf was transferred to Berlin; and though he did not take an active

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part in the new University, which was then establishing in that city, he still professed to read lectures, and to devote himself to literary occupations. But here was the trial of his character. Where a man is forced to labor by his very situation, and has his time filled up with duties that cannot be avoided, almost any one succeeds well enough in maintaining respectability. But it is the use which a man makes of his leisure, that shows the spirit he is of; and if prosperity is in general the great trial of character, it is the opportunity to be indolent, which is the true touchstone of the scholar. Wolf, when he found himself possessed of leisure and a pension, became idle and set up for a fine gentleman. But it would not do. With all his efforts the man, who had spent his youth among the mountains, and his manhood among books, never could get the air of a courtier; and, for the most part, the men of the world and of diplomatic celebrity cared very little about him. Some few were fond of his intercourse, but it was the Professor's erudition which they coveted, and not the society of the Privy Counsellor. Wolf was a man of profound and accurate learning, of most rare sagacity, and admirable genius; but he allowed base propensities to grow strong within him, and did not even keep clear of vulgar dissipation and lowlived profligacy.

The stranger that would see him, might expect to find him on a sunny morning in the park between eleven and one, or at the best *restaurateur's* about three, or an hour or two later at his own rooms, yielding to the listlessness that attends the digestion of a large dinner. If joined on his walks, and he preferred society, he would, with delightful garrulity, tell the story of his early life, repeat his good sayings, especially his severe ones, fight his battles with Heyne over again, or express his utter contempt for others by whom he had been assailed. He would, with equal liveliness, recount the persons of rank, by whom he had been treated with civility, and make mention of any good servants he might chance to have employed, and especially of the good dishes they used to prepare; and now and then he would speak of the poetry he admired, and the examples of ancient or of modern worth to which his kindly heart offered a willing tribute of respect. For he retained to the last something of the lofty spirit of a scholar; if he loved good cheer, he loved a good book also; and the charms of the modern opera, and the admirable talents of the Berlin stage, never made him faithless to his Grecian favorites. If he knew

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the most exquisite airs in the last work of Rossini, he did not give up his knowledge of the most delightful strains in the Greek choruses, and could point out the sweetest cadences of the polished verse of Aristophanes; and though he could give you the statistics of all the pastry shops in Berlin, and tell you even at what time of day you must call in to get the good things as they came hot from the oven, he yet retained a soul for the unearthly sublimity of Plato.

He prided himself also on his knowledge of the English, which he could speak pretty well; and truth compels us to add, though it may make against his taste and his morality in letters, that Fielding's Tom Jones was his favorite work. His pronunciation of the French was not good, yet he held himself perfectly competent to judge of the delicacies and rules of that language. His conversation was most various, and often most instructive. Sometimes he would repeat the newest tale of scandal, and sometimes he would take up a volume of some Greek bard, and with his clear voice, which was melody itself, read aloud the perfect hexameters of Homer, or run through the mazes of a Pindaric strophe, or follow the rapid anapests of the comic Muse.

To give the character of Wolf in a few words, we should only have to say, that in his moral and physical characteristics, he was an illustrious example of the sanguineous temperament. He was fond of believing himself like Bentley, and was pleased to have an analogy traced between his own character and reputation and those of the English critic. Yet were we to look into history for another like him, however strange and far fetched it may seem to compare a warrior and a philologian, we should hardly know whom to select but the son of Antigonus, the intrepid, the ardent, the licentious, and, finally, the indolent Demetrius. Indeed Wolf was the very Poliorcetes among critics, laying siege to many an opinion, which seemed strongly and impregnably garrisoned by the authority of ancient names. Had the Teian bard for centuries been extolled for grace and sweetness? Wolf threw out the assertion (which Brunck and Hermann have likewise made, and endeavored to prove from the laws of metre), that the poems now cited as Anacreon's are not genuine, and that the world has been cheated into an admiration of paltry imitations. Had every schoolboy learnt to extol the rhetoric and the epistolary elegance of Cicero? Wolf cast a suspicion on the collection of epistles

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which we possess, as containing many that are not Tully's, and positively denied the authenticity of four of the orations, that for Marcellus among the number. Or had the student of letters, when he made his pilgrimage to the fountain of epic song, been accustomed to pay homage to the genius of one blind minstrel? Wolf was prepared to demonstrate, so that the blind might see, that the Iliad and Odyssey are but admirable pieces of Mosaic; a set of rhapsodies, naturally unconnected, but fastened together in the dovetail way by some fortunate and ingenious workman.

Wolf was not only a sagacious critic of the works of others; he knew also himself how to use language well. There was, however, a ridiculous affectation about him as to his own tongue. In a most ingenious essay on the Science of Antiquity, he apologizes for employing the German, and has the impudence to say, it is less familiar to him than the Latin. His style in German is artificial, yet skilful, and distinguished by a rare degree of accuracy in the choice of expressions. But his greatest performance in the German is his Translation of the Clouds of Aristophanes, which may be read with all the interest that the Greek play can excite. The translation is exact, line for line, throughout the whole, and the measure of the original is preserved in all its varieties. A dispute had taken place in Germany about the use of the *trochee* in German hexameters. Klopstock had used it freely; and Voss had not abstained from it. Wolf ridiculed the idea, and to show with what fidelity Homer might be translated, he began a version of the Odyssey, strictly literal, exhausting the meaning of the Greek words, and adding nothing; and all the while giving not merely line for line, but foot for foot, and cæsura for cæsura. When he had finished exactly one hundred lines in this manner, he stopped in the midst of a period, declaring that there lived not the man in all Germany who could go on and finish the sentence. Another proof of his arrogance we have in his version of one of Plato's dialogues. Cicero had, in one of his works, translated a long passage from the Euthyphron; Wolf translated the whole of the dialogue into Latin, in a most masterly manner, and on purpose, as he has been heard to say, that he might strive with Cicero himself for the first honors in this exercise in the Roman dialect.

But we need not accumulate more facts to illustrate his character. He owes his high reputation to his having actually possessed genius. There is the air of a man of rare intellect about all

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that he did. His great faults were an excessive vanity, and an entire want of religious principle, in respect to which he was a very heathen. Of the great works on which his reputation rests, we have now no time to enlarge.

We take leave of him, and of the subject of Greek learning in our country, with the hope of being able hereafter to treat the question relating to classical learning historically. By tracing the field of ancient learning from the subjugation of Greece to the present time, it will appear, that the study of the classical writers has advanced with the prosperity and practical industry of each nation; that it has declined where the spirit of free inquiry, and the enterprise of men, have been checked, and the thraldom of superstition asserted; that it has flourished best in the busiest and freest times, and that it assisted mankind to break the chains of authority in matters of religion and philosophy; from all which it might be lawful to make some inferences as to its tendency, its power, its value, and its adaptation to the present state of our society.

ART. IX.—1. *The Pioneers, or the Sources of the Susquehanna; a Descriptive Tale.* By THE AUTHOR OF 'PRECAUTION.' New York. Charles Wiley. 1823. 2 vols. 12mo.

2. *The Last of the Mohicans; a Narrative of* 1757. By THE AUTHOR OF 'THE PIONEERS.' Philadelphia. H. C. Carey & I. Lea. 1826. 2 vols. 12mo.

THE experiment of adapting American scenes, events, and characters to historical romance, was suggested but a few years ago. It has since been abundantly tried, and is still going on to such an extent, that we should have ample cause to regret the little countenance we may have given it, did we feel ourselves called upon to review, or even to read, half the trash which appears daily under this disguise. Mr Cooper, however, has the almost singular merit of writing American novels which everybody reads, and which we are of course bound to review now and then. For these last five or six years he has supplied the reading public annually with a repast of five or six hundred pages of such matter; so that we have a right to consider him

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as publicly professing this department of elegant literature. It is too late to say, that he does not excel in it; or at least, that he has not some considerable merit; for however far he may fall short of our ideal standards, or wherever we may rank him among living writers, the public voice has long since confirmed to him the appellation of the American novelist, a title which was but sparingly and timidly suggested for the author of the Spy. No one has yet appeared among us who has been wholly able to cope with him in his proper walk; and we see no good reason why he should not be allowed, for the present at least, to maintain the distinction. We have heretofore devoted a few pages to the Spy and the Pilot; but time and our author have not ceased to be at work, and Lionel Lincoln, together with the Pioneers and the Last of the Mohicans (which are linked together by our author, and for that reason by us), are before the world. The American novelist must be set down, therefore, as having fairly entitled himself once more to the operation of a review; and we have it not in our hearts to deny any popular writer such a reasonable gratification as often as we can afford it.

The five tales which have been named above, certainly exhibit a variety of original character and novel incident, which entitles their author to the praise of great powers of invention; and with all their faults, they have that redeeming virtue of a novel, a power of warming the imagination and exciting, for the moment, a glowing interest in fictitious personages and visionary scenes. We have met persons, indeed, deficient neither in sound judgment, nor refined taste, nor yet with minds wholly destitute of fanciful association, who are bold enough to say, that they cannot work their way through one of Cooper's novels. Such readers we are strongly inclined to suspect of unfair dealing. They take up Cooper and are exceedingly disappointed, that he does not turn out to be Scott. In the first place, it is ten to one that they cannot abide an American novel from any quarter; or they have become entirely satisfied, that the author of the Spy is a very vulgar writer; or, without wholly prejudging the matter, they suffer their sensibilities to be so utterly shocked at some little indelicacy, or awkwardness, or inelegance, which is likely enough to occur in the ten first pages, that they throw down the book in disgust, long before the author has arranged those preliminaries, which he esteems necessary by way of groundwork, and which are apt to be somewhat dull

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with the most vigorous and imaginative writers. But let him take up one of these tales, not as a subject of perpetual comparison with the Great Unknown, but for the *bonâ fide* purpose of suffering his imagination to be amused with scenes of fictitious life; let him read, as a child would read, for the sake of the action, rather than the argument or the style, and busy himself about disentangling the thread of the narrative, and watching the fortunes of the actors, instead of philosophizing on their characters or criticising their conversation (all which we take to be a clear usurpation of our own province), and we will venture to say, that no such unsophisticated novel reader ever called for his nightcap, until he had arrived at some of those natural resting-places, which every judicious author, consulting equally his readers' health, and his own reputation, will take care to intersperse at proper intervals; and which, by the way, it is sometimes a fault with our author, that he neglects to provide.

The same sort of magical authority over the spirit of romance, which belongs in common to Scott, Radcliffe, Walpole, and our countryman Brown, is, for us at least, possessed by this writer in an eminent degree. Places, for example, familiar to us from our boyhood, and which are now daily before our eyes, thronged with the vulgar associations of real life, are boldly seized upon for scenes of the wildest romance; and yet our imaginations do not revolt at the incongruity. We land with Lionel on the Long Wharf of Boston, and, under the guidance of Job Pray, tread its blind alleys, and wind through its crooked streets, the same which we pass daily in our common avocations, with much of the same feeling of adventure, with which we make our way into the Heart of Mid Lothian, or to the Sanctuary of White Friars. A military conclave at the Province House possesses something of the same interest as if it were holden before the walls of Tillietudlem; and we attend a midnight marriage at the altar of the King's Chapel, and feel our blood curdle at the overshadowing arm upon the wall, with the same superstitious terror as when the gigantic armor rattles in the purely imaginative Castle of Otranto. In short, we are borne along by the author through a crowd of romantic incidents and marvellous adventures, without stooping from the flight to consider the reality of things as they exist in the same places at the present day. This seems to us no inconsiderable proof of the power of the writer over us and his subject. Indeed, if we are called upon to state what, in our judgment, constitutes the

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characteristic excellence of this writer, we should say, without hesitation, that it is exhibited in the rapidity of his incidents, the vividness of his action, and the invention of the machinery of the piece, by which we mean all that answers in the modern novel as a substitute for the mythological divinities of the ancient epopeia, or the giants and enchanters, fairies and weird sisters of Runic poetry and the elder romance; those subtile agents, bordering upon the preternatural, who weave, and, at pleasure, unravel the mysteries of the plot, and effect such surprises of the imagination as are essential to its dramatic effect. It is the creation and adaptation of a kind of machinery, which may be adequate to its objects, original in its character, and yet within the narrowed limits of modern probability, that stretch to the utmost the inventive faculties of the novelist; and our author has uniformly succeeded in producing something far enough from faultless, but sufficient to answer this great end.

On the other hand, we do not find that he describes with great effect the secret workings of the passions of the human heart; or that he moves our affections, by any other than mere external agents, and such commonly as are calculated to excite no softer or more sympathetic emotion than terror or surprise. He weaves the web of mystery, and our intellectual faculties are interested to disentangle the thread; in the progress of the task, our attention is constantly kept alive by rapid changes of scene and unexpected events; we find ourselves travelling in a strange country; we meet with sudden dangers that alarm us, and are astonished at miraculous escapes; there are great battles and a hot pursuit, and a rapid flight, passing before our eyes; we are kept hurrying on through numberless difficulties in a state of wonder and uneasiness; but our feelings are cold, and our hearts all the while unwrung by the distresses of our companions, or the shocking accidents which befall them; and when we have arrived at the end of our pilgrimage, when the mysteries are all unravelled, and the catastrophe is fully accomplished, we feel much the same sort of satisfaction, as if we had solved some intricate problem; but experience neither heartfelt joy nor deep regret for the good or ill fortune that may have chanced to the actors of the scene. The tender passion of course fills an important space in these tales; as where does it not? But we never fall in love with the heroine ourselves, nor can we, for our lives, conceive why any one else should; and we cannot bring

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ourselves to sympathize in her sweet sorrows, unless we perceive that she is about to be scalped, or is menaced with some other enormous bodily harm.

The descriptions of natural scenery, which abound in some of these productions, are highly picturesque, and full of striking characteristics of the wild American landscape. They prove that the author has studied for himself in the great school of nature. But he succeeds best in imitating her extravagant and gigantic features. He chooses to paint upon the grand scale, and with a bold outline; and the numberless little beauties, which serve to fill up, and soften, and adorn the real scene, are wholly overlooked. His tendency is always to exaggerate. He aims at something striking and overwhelming; and in the attempt often becomes confused. We find ourselves in the midst of huge rocks, and overhanging woods, and tumbling cataracts, with a great mist, and a great noise, and we are utterly unable to settle the relative positions of these objects, so as to form any distinct picture from them in the mind.

The fictitious characters, which figure in the several scenes, are various enough, and show a great range of observation. Of whatever class, if not too much given to talking, they are commonly spirited and well sustained; and we are even very happy to converse with such of them as do not profess to belong to the upper circles. But the moment we set foot in a fashionable drawing room, we find the gentry there so abominably stiff in their manners, and with so much vulgar good breeding, and so dull, or flippant, or affected in their discourse, that we are heartily glad to escape from elegant society, and take a walk with our author into the woods, or step over to the neighbouring inn, where we are very likely to meet with somebody who can talk to the purpose in his own way.

Real personages are also occasionally introduced; but we do not think they add much to the interest of these tales, which have but slender merit as pieces of historical painting, so far as individual characters are concerned.

How far it may be expedient to mingle history and romance, and to make use of fictitious scenes to illustrate the leading characters of former days, may be matter of argument among the metaphysicians. For ourselves, we do not believe in the train of shadowy evils, which have been conjured up by some ingenious commentator on the Great Unknown, as attendant on the genius of historical romance. Why has not the same inge-

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nuity detected the same fatal error in the historical dramas of Shakspeare, and in nine tenths of the tragedies that ever were written? But be this as it may, every one confesses a heightened interest and a new delight, when he sees the pedantic James, the haughty Elizabeth, and the lionhearted Richard, appearing unexpectedly on the theatre of romantic action, with the same look and the same deportment, which we had pictured for them in our imaginations from the pages of history; though should they look or act differently from what we had a right to expect, they become instantly intolerable. Mr Cooper has done little in this way. His great attempt, that of Washington, in the Spy, was a miserable failure. Paul Jones, in the Pilot, can scarcely be called a portrait; and the slight sketches in Lionel Lincoln are by no means touched with a master's hand, and give, we apprehend, but faint representations of their originals. In the Pioneers and the Last of the Mohicans, to which it is now time to advert, the author has shackled himself with no characters of this delicate description. In the latter he makes use indeed of names which are known in history; but they belong to persons who have left nothing but their names behind them, connected with one or two striking events in the provincial politics of the times.

The historical event of this piece is the capture of Fort William Henry by the French, in 1757. It is thus described in a letter of that time.

'Lieutenant Colonel Monroe commanded there with about two thousand men, composed, by detachments, from the thirtyfifth regiment, the sixtieth, and a body of the New Jersey militia; part of which were intrenched in the lines adjoining to the fort. On the third instant, an army under the Marquis de Montcalm (captain general and commander in chief of the French forces in Canada), consisting of eight thousand regulars and militia, some artillery, and fifteen hundred savages, invested the place, and cut off every communication, by which there was the least appearance or possibility of the garrison or trenches being reinforced, either with men, ammunition, or other stores. Colonel Monroe contrived to convey several letters to General Webb, who had retired to Fort Edward with five thousand men, to wait for further succours, which had been promised by the several provinces; but these supplies not being arrived, or likely to come in proper time, the General transmitted a letter to that effect to the Colonel, recommending it to him to make the best terms he could for the troops under his command. This letter was intercepted by the

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Marquis on the morning of the ninth, and was sent by him without delay to the commanding officer of the garrison, accompanied with a peremptory demand of the surrender of the place, under pain of his not having it in his power to prescribe bounds to the savages, if he did not immediately comply. The gallant colonel, thus mysteriously forlorn, after making a very spirited defence, was thereby compelled to surrender on the same day; by which the troops under his command are restrained from further service against the enemy or their allies, for the space of eighteen months from the date of the capitulation; we had about three hundred, of every rank, killed and wounded during the siege; the loss of the enemy is uncertain, but by accounts from deserters who came to Fort Edward on the eighth, their loss could not then be less than twelve hundred men; this, my dear friend, (continues my correspondent) is a great number to lose in so short a time, and where there was no action; but the French general has acknowledged he never saw artillery better served than those of the garrison were. After the troops had marched out, which they were allowed to do with the usual honors of war, the savages, who before had been flattered with great hopes of plunder and scalps, notwithstanding the escort which our troops had to conduct them in safety to Fort Edward, and in sight of the whole French army, fell upon the poor fellows with the most barbarous rage, rifled the officers of everything they had, even to their shirts; and basely butchered several hundreds, neither sparing women or children; colonels Monroe, Young, and a few officers, with about three hundred men, retired to the French army, and put themselves under the Marquis's immediate protection; how this intricate affair, the inactivity of our forces, and this flagrant breach of faith on the part of the enemy, will be received at home, time only can evince.' *Knox's Historical Journal*, Vol. i. pp. 43, 44.

The two fortresses above mentioned were situated at the extremities of the *grand portage* between the waters of the Hudson and Lake George. The interval of some leagues was a howling wilderness, crossed only by a rude military road and a few Indian bypaths, but abounding with romantic scenery of the wildest and most picturesque character. This little tract of country, lying peculiarly exposed to a Canadian invasion, was the constant scene of deep and bloody interest to the rival colonies of France and England; and was destined to be the scene of yet deeper and more disgraceful interest to England in the later war of the Revolution. At the time of which our author treats, it was constantly infested with bands of the savage allies, which France had let loose upon our frontiers, spreading terror

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and desolation into the very hearts of the colonies. Our modern fashionables, who take their summer's tour to Lake George and the Springs of Saratoga, may form some faint idea of the different condition of things in the days of which we speak, when they learn from the journal of an English officer, who spoke of what he saw, that 'there was a continual patrol of regulars going and coming between Schenectady and Albany, to prevent the Indians from scalping passengers!' The atrocious massacre at William Henry was but a repetition of that, which had occurred before at Oswego; and they were events in our provincial history well calculated to produce a sensation throughout the civilized world. It will be seen at once, therefore, that our author has chosen a time, a place, and an event, admirably adapted to romantic horrors of a certain description.

The interest of the piece turns upon the fortunes of two young ladies, the daughters of this Colonel Monroe, the Commandant of Fort William Henry. The young ladies, at the drawing of the curtain, are found (we wonder wherefore) stationed at Fort Edward, the head quarters of General Webb; but no sooner do they hear of the approach of Montcalm and his savages, than they set out (wherefore, we wonder yet more) to join their father at his more advanced and dangerous post. As there was no incessant patrol of regulars moving between the two forts, like that established on the highway between Schenectady and Albany, and William Henry was just upon the point of being invested by a vastly superior force of French and Indian arms, nothing could be more opportune than the conjuncture of time, place, and circumstance for this journey, which we take to be intended for nothing more than an interesting little tribute of filial affection. A small reinforcement, however, is despatched by General Webb; and this pursues its way through the forest, with all the glorious pomp and circumstance of war, along the broader and more beaten track. The ladies, on the other hand, prefer to journey by themselves in a bypath, with no larger escort than their friend Major Heyward, of the Royal Americans, and an Indian runner for their guide, who comes recommended by the circumstance of his having lately experienced a wholesome castigation at the order of their father, for being found drunk within his lines. The reason assigned by Major Heyward for this sagacious choice of roads, was, that parties of hostile Indians would be sure to hover about the army on the lookout for straggling scalps. The servants of his party, however,

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are required to follow the march of the troops. We suppose the reason of this was, that the savages might not be wholly disappointed of their game; or perhaps it was a *ruse de guerre* to divert their attention. After this admirable disposition of forces, the Major's party is increased, we can hardly say strengthened, by the accession of David Gamut, a Connecticut singing master, whose motive for such a journey at such a time, is rather more inexplicable and quite as little explained, as is that of the young ladies; especially since the man of song professes himself not to be a man of war, and is provided with no better instrument of defence than his 'tooting we'pon,' commonly called a pitchpipe. Without undertaking to recount minutely the adventures of this hopeful expedition, it is enough for the reader to know, that their guide, as might have been expected, proves treacherous; that the party is captured by the hostile Indians, but rescued again by a white hunter and two friendly Mohicans, who are found loitering about the woods for the express purpose of being at hand in case any distressed party should want them. By their aid the errant damsels finally make their way through the French lines, enveloped in such a mist as carried Æneas incognito into the Tyrian capital; whereby they happily reach Fort William Henry in excellent time to be provided for in the articles of capitulation. The massacre follows. But the young ladies, instead of being scalped, are again carried off by the Indians, again found after a long search by their friends, and once more on the point of being rescued; but, alas! one of them is unfortunately tomahawked instead; the other lives to bestow her hand on Major Heyward as a reward for his signal services to the family, and make, what is commonly called, a happy termination.

This is the simple outline of the plot; and we cannot forbear to express our astonishment, that our author, who has exhibited so much ingenuity and invention in the interior conduct of the piece, should have suffered its claim to regard as a 'narrative' to rest on such a wretchedly improbable foundation. But *il n'est que le premier pas qui coute*, and after stretching our credulity far enough to overcome the first startling absurdity of such a tour as our author has here imagined, and having actually set forth in company with a Major of the Royal Americans, like a knight of the Holy Land with *two* distressed damsels under his wing, in search of all possible adventure, we enter instantly upon a continuous scene of intense and breathless interest; there is no break, no pause, no abiding place of rest; but we

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are urged incessantly forward by an irresistible power, hurrying on to the final catastrophe through forests and cataracts, over lakes and mountains, by forts and ambushments, in the midst of bullets and bayonets, tomahawks and scalping knives, with the crack of '*la longue carabine*,' or the yell of a dying Indian, forever ringing in our ears; until we are heartily glad to draw a long breath at the end of the volume. Often enough, indeed, are we called upon to believe to the utmost; but it is not as it was at the outset; our imaginations have become excited; we have entered upon the haunted regions of romance; and the spell is too strong for the spirit of scepticism to dissolve; at least we found it so upon a first and rapid perusal. But having suffered ourselves once to be thus run away with, it becomes the province of grave reviewers, now that we have got beyond the swing of the tomahawk, and that our hair no longer bristles under the edge of the scalping knife, to take a calm survey of the ground we have gone over, and see what manner of monsters they may be, which inhabit these horrid regions. And to begin with 'a very delicate monster truly,' we must first make our readers acquainted with the aforesaid David Gamut, who is thus introduced by the author.

'The person of this remarkable individual was to the last degree ungainly, without being in any particular manner deformed. He had all the bones and joints of other men, without any of their proportions. Erect, his stature surpassed that of his fellows; though, seated, he appeared reduced within the ordinary limits of our race. The same contrariety in his members, seemed to exist throughout the whole man. His head was large; his shoulders narrow; his arms long and dangling; while his hands were small, if not delicate. His legs and thighs were thin nearly to emaciation, but of extraordinary length; and his knees would have been considered tremendous, had they not been outdone by the broader foundations on which this false superstructure of blended human orders, was so profanely reared. The ill assorted and injudicious attire of the individual only served to render his awkwardness more conspicuous. A sky blue coat, with short and broad skirts and low cape, exposed a long thin neck, and longer and thinner legs, to the worst animadversions of the evil disposed. His nether garment was of yellow nankeen, closely fitted to the shape, and tied at his bunches of knees by large knots of white ribbon, a good deal sullied by use. Clouded cotton stockings, and shoes, on one of the latter of which was a plated spur, completed the costume of the lower extremity of this figure, no curve or angle of which was concealed, but, on the

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other hand, studiously exhibited, through the vanity or simplicity of its owner. From beneath the flap of an enormous pocket of a soiled vest of embossed silk, heavily ornamented with tarnished silver lace, projected an instrument, which, from being seen in such martial company, might have been easily mistaken for some mischievous and unknown implement of war. Small as it was, this uncommon engine had excited the curiosity of most of the Europeans in the camp, though several of the provincials were seen to handle it, not only without fear, but with the utmost familiarity. A large civil cocked hat, like those worn by clergymen within the last thirty years, surmounted the whole, furnishing dignity to a goodnatured, and somewhat vacant countenance, that apparently needed such artificial aid to support the gravity of some high and extraordinary trust.

'While the common herd stood aloof from the gathering group of travellers, in deference to the sacred precincts of the quarters of Webb, the figure we have described stalked into the centre of the domestics, who were in waiting with the horses, freely expressing his censures or commendations on the merits of the latter, as by chance they displeased or satisfied his judgment.

'"This beast, I rather conclude, friend, is not of home raising, but is from foreign lands, or perhaps from the little island itself, over the blue water?" he said, in a voice as remarkable for the softness and sweetness of its tones, as was his person for its rare proportions; "I may speak of these things and be no braggart, for I have been down at both havens; that which is situate at the mouth of Thames, and is named after the capital of Old England, and that which is called 'Haven,' with the addition of the word 'New;' and have seen the snows and brigantines collecting their droves, like the gathering to the ark, being outward bound to the island of Jamaica, for the purpose of barter and traffic in fourfooted animals; but never before have I beheld a beast, which verified the true Scripture war horse like this; 'he paweth in the valley, and rejoiceth in his strength; he goeth out to meet the armed men.' 'He saith among the trumpets, ha ha! and he smelleth the battle afar off; the thunder of the captains and the shouting.' It would seem that the stock of the horse of Israel has descended to our own time; would it not, friend?"' Vol. I. pp. 10—12.

Our author has uniformly followed the example of the great lord and master of modern romance, in endeavoring to relieve his reader from the more painful and serious emotions of the tale by introducing some uncouth, ungainly, and unnatural being, bearing no imaginary likeness to anything on the earth

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or under it, merely to flounder through a saraband for the amusement of the spectators, playing over the same awkward and extravagant gambols again and again, and uttering forever the same stupid jest in season and out of season, until our very hearts are expected to ache with delight. This being is and does nothing more than the queen's dwarf and the king's jester were wont to be and do of old; which concomitants of royalty, like many more important jewels of prerogative, have long since ceased from the face of the earth, and become extinguished in the progress of civilization. It would be difficult to find a good reason why they should not also be exterminated from the regions of modern, and especially historical romance. We are not among those, however, who are for tying down this species of composition to a very strict observance of the laws of congruity, any more than we are for perpetuating the dramatic unities in all the rigor of the French Academy. We have no objection to the occasional introduction of a caricature, and a pretty broad one too, provided it be well done, and really serve us a good turn, by affording reasonable excuse for a hearty laugh. But we do not think our author has usually been happy in this order of creation; and as for the present instance, we can truly say, that so far from having moved our merriment in the slightest degree, the unfortunate David Gamut never appears without wrapping us in a feeling of profound melancholy, and bringing on a fit of lugubrious reflection. He is, beyond comparison, the most stupid, senseless, useless, and unmeaning monster we remember ever to have met with. He does nothing towards the conduct of the piece, which could not have been better done without him; and performs no feat in the world for our amusement, save uplifting a New England psalm whenever he, or any one else, is in danger of being scalped. In short, he deserves no better appellation than such as the merry cavaliers of Charles the Second, had he flourished in those licentious days, would probably have bestowed upon him; but which we are far too polite to repeat to readers as polite as ourselves.

The next of the fairy creations, which we desire to introduce, is a brace of heroines.

'One, and she was the most juvenile in her appearance, though both were young, permitted glimpses of her dazzling complexion, fair golden hair, and bright blue eyes, to be caught, as she artlessly suffered the morning air to blow aside the green veil, which descended low from her beaver. The flush, which still lingered

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above the pines in the western sky, was not more bright nor delicate than the bloom on her cheek; nor was the opening day more cheering than the animated smile, which she bestowed on the youth, as he assisted her into the saddle. The other, who appeared to share equally in the attentions of the young officer, concealed her charms from the gaze of the soldiery with a studious care, that seemed better fitted to the experience of four or five additional years. It could be seen, however, that her person, though moulded with the same exquisite proportions, of which none of the graces were lost by the travelling dress she wore, was rather fuller, and more mature than that of her companion.'
Vol. I. p. 14.

And soon after, when her veil was allowed to open its folds in order to give her an opportunity of betraying 'an indescribable look of pity, admiration, and horror,' it was farther seen, that

'The tresses of this lady were shining and black, like the plumage of the raven. Her complexion was not brown, but it rather appeared charged with the color of the rich blood, that seemed ready to burst its bounds. And yet there was neither coarseness, nor want of shadowing, in a countenance that was exquisitely regular and dignified, and surpassingly beautiful. She smiled, as if in pity, at her own momentary forgetfulness, discovering by the act a row of teeth that would have shamed, by their dazzling whiteness, the purest ivory; when, replacing the veil, she bowed her face, and rode in silence, like one whose thoughts were abstracted from the scene around her.' p. 15.

Now this is what we call a luxuriant description of a fine full-blooded animal; 'her complexion was not brown, but it rather appeared *charged with the rich blood, that seemed ready to burst its bounds.*' The pleasurable sensation produced by the first view of this epicurean beauty, is not a little enhanced by the subsequent discovery, that the peculiar *richness* of her blood, which is perpetually spoken of, was owing to a slight African tinge, derived from her ancestors in the female line. For Cora, such is the name of this dark eyed houri, and Alice, her fairer haired companion, were sisters by the father's side only; and the Colonel, in his youth, had spent some years with his regiment on the West India station; where, by a remote consequence, Cora was born, to be a heroine of dark descent. But when death had deprived him of his 'dusky love,' he returned to his native Scotland, and there married, as we learn from his own

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lips, a 'suffering angel' (a white one), who 'had remained in the heartless state of celibacy twenty long years, and that for the sake of a man who could forget her;' and so Alice came into the world. But it is much easier to account for the fact, that either of them should have come into the world, than that they should have come into the American wilderness at such a time, without some more particular provocation than a mere girlish desire to visit their father in the midst of his duties and dangers. The respective characters of these young ladies are as opposite as their complexions. Alice is timid and sensitive, always shrinking and shrieking at the approach of danger; while Cora is quite a bold young woman, and makes rather free, we think, with the savages. This, probably, she felt the better title to do, in respect of the dark blood which flowed in her own veins.

There is no task of the novel writer more difficult, we suppose, than that of delineating a good female character; at least the frequency of the failure seems to justify this presumption. Whether it be, that the softer sex is less marked by striking and individual character, or because we are less accustomed to see them in scenes which call it forth, or because their *genuine* peculiaries are of too ethereal a cast for the rude nature of man to imitate successfully, or because our tastes are somewhat capricious upon this interesting topic, are questions which we shall leave to the philosophers. Certain it is, that the heroine is commonly the least agreeable article in a good novel, and quite intolerable in a bad one. Scott himself has but seldom succeeded; our author, we think, never. In the present case, we are free to confess, that so far as Cora is concerned, our judgments, like Major Heyward's, may be somewhat biassed. We mean no offence whatever to the colored population of the United States; on the contrary, we have a great esteem for them in certain situations; and we acknowledge it to be a vile and abominable prejudice; but still we have (and we cannot help it) a particular dislike to the richness of the negro blood in a heroine. But supposing this extraordinary and superfluous blemish wiped out, what is there in the character either of Cora or of Alice, which adds to the interest of the piece? We are deeply interested in certain scenes of peril, which they encounter; but we are so simply because of the character of the perils themselves. We are moved at the sight of a young female bound to a tree by a troop of fierce and inexorable savages; we shudder at the stroke of the tomahawk which severs her

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tresses, without much considering whether they be raven or sandy; nor, under the feverish excitement of the scene, do we stop to ask ourselves if this helpless victim be a lady of high degree, or a simple washerwoman. It is certain, that the emotion of the scene would be immeasurably heightened if the fair being, who seems doomed to a lingering death, were one who had already wound her way into our affections, and created a peculiar interest for herself by some touching and attractive traits of female loveliness. But the spectacle has a horrid interest of its own, apart from all considerations of the character of the sufferer; and this species of interest it is, an interest derived from the novelty, the rapidity, the horror of the incidents, and this only, we think, which carries us through the book. Does the author ask, why we are neither satisfied with the feminine timidity of Alice, nor with the proud bearing of the ardent and noble minded Cora? We answer, chiefly for the same reason, that we were dissatisfied equally with Isabella Singleton and Frances Wharton, or with Katharine Plowden and Cecilia Howard; for the same reason, that we are now dissatisfied with all the heroines of the Pioneers and of Lionel Lincoln; it is, that they are all miserably deficient in the grace and ease, gentility of deportment, true delicacy, and unaffected refinement, which properly belong to the sphere of life in which they are designed to move; or in other words, because no one of them exhibits, according to our conceptions, what we suppose each of them is designed to exhibit, the true notion of a wellbred lady. Nor ought we to confine our remarks now, more than formerly, to the female characters, in regard to this sort of defect. It belongs rather to the high life of either sex; and, as it would in the intercourse of real life, appears most conspicuous in their mutual conversation. We have heretofore, perhaps, said enough upon this head; but we really esteem it a great drawback from the pleasure of reading this writer's compositions. It is hardly worth while to attempt to point out examples of a fault, which runs through a whole series of works, and cannot fail to strike every educated reader. Besides, we might not make ourselves very intelligible, after all, to the writer, without consuming more time than we have to spare. A single passage we will quote, because it is short. Cora urges Heyward, when all hope of escape seems cut off from Alice and herself, to preserve his own life by abandoning them to their fate.

'After the last look at Uncas, Cora turned, and, with a quivering lip, addressed herself to Heyward;

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'"I have heard of your boasted skill in the water, too, Duncan," she said; "follow, then, the wise example set you by these simple and faithful beings."

'"Is such the faith that Cora Munro would exact from her protector," said the young man, smiling, mournfully, but with bitterness.

'"This is not a time for idle subtleties and false opinions," she answered; "but a moment when every duty should be equally considered. To us you can be of no further service here, but your precious life may be saved for other and nearer friends."

'He made no reply, though his eyes fell wistfully on the beautiful form of Alice, who was clinging to his arm with the dependency of an infant.

'"Consider, after all," continued Cora, after a pause of a moment, during which she seemed to struggle with a pang, even more acute than any that her fears had excited, "the worst to us can be but death; a tribute that all must pay at the good time of God's appointment."

'"There are evils even worse than death," said Duncan, speaking hoarsely, and as if fretful at her importunity, "but which the presence of one who would die in your behalf may avert."

'Cora instantly ceased her intreaties, and veiling her face in her shawl, drew the nearly insensible Alice after her into the deepest recess of the inner cavern.' Vol. I. pp. 116, 117.

The whole of this dialogue is stiff and inelegant; but the latter allusion, if we do not mistake it, is such as never would have been made by a gentleman of high breeding to refined young women, however circumstanced; besides, it was an unnecessary and cruel augmentation of the misery of their situation. We would observe, also, *en passant*, that 'smiling mournfully, but with bitterness,' is to us a very indefinite phrase; it conveys to our mind's eye no particular shade of expression in the human countenance. It is a trifling example of our author's old passion for attempting to characterize, by describing changes of countenance, as minutely as a meteorologist would note the variations of the barometer. It is true, that this and other minor defects of style have been very much amended; but there is yet room for improvement.

The other members of civilized society, who figure in this work, have very little that entitles them to comment. Major Heyward, of the Royal Americans, is a warm blooded Southern planter, who fights and loves with more valor than discretion,

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and informs Colonel Munro that more than half the guns of the Fort are *bursted*. The Colonel himself was designed for a venerable and gallant Scotch officer, who had grown very grey and very proud in his Majesty's service; but after the capture of the Fort and the loss of his daughters, he turns out, by mistake, to be a drivelling old dotard, whom our author ought to have had good sense enough to put out of the way, whether history agrees to it or not. At any rate, we cannot imagine his motive in dragging the old gentleman through a whole volume of imaginary adventure in a state of perfect imbecility.

The main design of this work, however, is manifestly to exhibit the characteristics of savage rather than civilized life, as they exist or once existed in the wilds of North America. The Aborigines of our soil constitute the great machinery of the piece, and the few civilized whites, who appear to take an active part in the plot, are in fact introduced merely as objects on whom the Indians may operate to advantage. We have long since looked upon the character of the North American savage as one admirably calculated to form an engine of great power in the hands of some ingenious master of romance, who had a true notion of this part of his subject; and the success with which it has been managed by Mr Cooper in the present work, is a striking example of its effect. Beings that went by this name, and were in fact meant to represent North American Indians, have acted their parts, more or less important, in the world of fiction, almost ever since the discovery that such creatures existed. But the representation has commonly borne no greater similitude to the red warrior of the woods, than it has to a chieftain of Timbuctoo, or the solitary hero of the moon. They have not been copies from nature; but mere creations of the poet's brain, the half formed dreams of a disturbed imagination. Mr Cooper's Indians are somewhat of the visionary order too; but then he has dreamed a more consistent dream upon the subject than most of his predecessors, and has interwoven with his vision more of what really belongs to the aboriginal character than any other writer of poetry or romance. The great difficulty is that which we suggested, by the way, in a late article on this interesting subject; namely, that he has relied exclusively upon the narrations of the enthusiastic and visionary Heckewelder, whose work is a mere eulogium upon the virtues of his favorite tribe, and contains, mixed with many interesting facts, a world of pure imagination. So far as things have fallen under his own daily

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observation, the account of an old man who had spent a long life among the people whose manners and usages he attempts to describe, is doubtless valuable, and to be received *cum grano salis* only by reason of his enthusiastic temperament, and ardent prejudices in favor of his adopted children; but beyond this, we think, it has been pretty clearly demonstrated, that he is not entitled to belief, being himself the victim of an easy credulity. It is therefore with great regret, that we have seen his wild traditions adopted by an author so generally read, and so deservedly popular, for the sober voice of history, and the whole fable of the superior virtues and glories of the Lenni Lenape, incorporated into this tale, and made the basis of its Indian mythology, for such it must be called. This would be of trifling moment, perhaps, and in general not to be complained of in a work of fiction. But the extreme minuteness with which the rites and ceremonies of this singular people are described, when by no means necessary to the action of the piece, render it apparent, that the author really supposed he was doing the fashionable world some service, in familiarizing them with the manners of a race but little known. And in fact we are given plainly to understand in the preface (so far as anything certain can be learnt from one of Mr Cooper's prefaces), that we are not to look here for 'a romantic and imaginary picture of things, which never had an existence;' but are to take the work to be 'exactly what it professes to be in its title-page, a narrative.' And in this particular we protest against it, as presenting altogether a false and ideal view of the Indian character. We should be glad to know, for example, in what tribe, or in what age of Indian history, such a civilized warrior as Uncas ever flourished? Uncas is represented as falling in love with Cora at first sight. This we do not object to, as we suppose an Indian is about as likely to fall in love at first sight as a white man. But then, we apprehend, he has his own aboriginal mode of expressing the tender passion. We remember once to have had the honor of meeting a deputation of Pawnee chieftains in a fashionable drawing room. One of the Sagamores, intoxicated partly with beauty and partly with rum, approached a young belle, and raising both his hands, exclaimed, 'Oh!' (or it might have been Hugh!) 'pretty!' This we took, at the time, to be the beginning of an Indian courtship; though great doubts were entertained whether the admiration of the savage had been thus excited by the beauty of the lady, or the brilliancy of her necklace. Now no flower of ancient chivalry

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was ever possessed of more respectful devotion to his lady love than Uncas; no modern carpet knight ever expressed his sublimated affection by more delicate and refined attentions. At one time he tenders to Cora all those little offices, which, according to the customs of civilized man alone, are not menial, because a voluntary homage to the weak; but which, according to the customs of the Indian, are the proper tribute which the squaw is bound to render the accomplished warrior, who honors her with a place in his wigwam. At another time, instead of scalping the dead, whom he had conquered in battle, he leaves it to his father to gather all the trophies of the field, and flies, '*with instinctive delicacy*, accompanied by Heyward, to the assistance of the sisters, and quickly releasing Alice, placed her in the open arms of Cora.' The instinctive delicacy of an Indian is romantic enough, to be sure; but it will not serve for 'narrative.'

Chingachgook, the father of Uncas, and at his death the last of the Mohicans, is drawn far nearer to the life; though even he smacks a little too much of civilization. Magua, or Le Renard Subtil, as he was styled by the French, is, on the other hand, one of those licensed instruments of romance, which belong rather to the diabolical orders of creation, than to any tribe of the human species, savage or civilized. He is the grand agent of mischief in the plot; a well conceived and well sustained, though somewhat exaggerated character. He is the runner who brings the news to Fort Edward of Montcalm's approach, and treacherously undertakes to guide Heyward and the daughters of Munro to William Henry by a shorter route than that which the army must pursue. But we shall best give his history and his character in some extracts, from a dialogue with Cora, after she and her sister have become his captives.

'"Magua was born a chief and a warrior among the red Hurons of the lakes; he saw the suns of twenty summers make the snows of twenty winters run off in the streams, before he saw a pale face; and he was happy! Then his Canada fathers came into the woods, and taught him to drink the firewater, and he became a rascal. The Hurons drove him from the graves of his fathers, as they would chase the hunted buffalo. He ran down the shores of the lakes, and followed their outlet to the 'city of cannon.' There he hunted and fished, till the people chased him again through the woods into the arms of his enemies. The chief, who was born a Huron, was at last a warrior among the Mohawks!"'

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'"When his English and French fathers dug up the hatchet, Le Renard struck the war post of the Mohawks, and went out against his own nation. The pale faces have driven the red skins from their hunting grounds, and now, when they fight, a white man leads the way. The old chief of Horican, your father, was the great captain of our war party. He said to the Mohawks do this, and do that, and he was minded. He made a law, that if an Indian swallowed the firewater, and came into the cloth wigwams of his warriors, it should not be forgotten. Magua foolishly opened his mouth, and the hot liquor led him into the cabin of Munro? What did the gray head? let his daughter say."

'"He forgot not his words, and did justice, by punishing the offender," said the undaunted maiden.

'"Justice!" repeated the Indian, casting an oblique glance of the most ferocious expression at her unyielding countenance; "is it justice to make evil, and then punish for it! Magua was not himself; it was the firewater that spoke and acted for him! but Munro did not believe it. The Huron chief was tied up before all the pale faced warriors, and whipped with sticks, like a dog."'

'"I had thought," resumed Cora, "that an Indian warrior was patient, and that his spirit felt not, and knew not, the pain his body suffered?"

'"When the Chippewas tied Magua to the stake, and cut this gash," said the other, laying his finger proudly on a deep scar on his bosom, "the Huron laughed in their faces, and told them, women struck so light! His spirit was then in the clouds! But when he felt the blows of Munro, his spirit lay under the birch. The spirit of a Huron is never drunk; it remembers for ever!"

'"But it may be appeased. If my father has done you this injustice, show him how an Indian can forgive an injury, and take back his daughters. You have heard from Major Heyward—"

'Magua shook his head, forbidding the repetition of offers he so much despised.

'"What would you have," continued Cora, after a most painful pause, while the conviction forced itself on her mind, that the too sanguine and generous Duncan had been cruelly deceived by the cunning of the savage.

'"What a Huron loves—good for good; bad for bad!"

'"You would then revenge the injury inflicted by Munro, on his helpless daughters. Would it not be more like a man to go before his face, and take the satisfaction of a warrior?"

'"The arms of the pale faces are long, and their knives sharp!" returned the savage, with a malignant laugh; "why should Le

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Renard go among the muskets of his warriors, when he holds the spirit of the gray head in his hand?"

'"Name your intention, Magua," said Cora, struggling with herself to speak with steady calmness.'

'"Listen," said the Indian again. "The light eyes can go back to the Horican, and tell the old chief what has been done, if the dark haired woman will swear, by the Great Spirit of her fathers, to tell no lie."

'"What must I promise?" demanded Cora, still maintaining a secret ascendancy over the fierce passions of the native, by the collected and feminine dignity of her presence.

'"When Magua left his people, his wife was given to another chief; he has now made friends with the Hurons, and will go back to the graves of his tribe, on the shores of the great lake. Let the daughter of the English chief follow, and live in his wigwam for ever."

'However revolting a proposal of such a character might prove to Cora, she retained, notwithstanding her powerful disgust, sufficient self command to reply, without betraying the least weakness.

'"And what pleasure would Magua find in sharing his cabin with a wife he did not love; one who would be of a nation and colour different from his own? It would be better to take the gold of Munro, and buy the heart of some Huron maid with his gifts and generosity."

'The Indian made no reply for near a minute, but bent his fierce looks on the countenance of Cora, in such wavering glances, that her eyes sunk with shame, under an impression, that, for the first time, they had encountered an expression that no chaste female might endure. While she was shrinking within herself, in dread of having her ears wounded by some proposal still more shocking than the last, the voice of Magua answered, in its tones of deepest malignancy;

'"When the blows scorched the back of the Huron, he would know where to find a woman to feel the smart. The daughter of Munro would draw his water, hoe his corn, and cook his venison. The body of the gray head would sleep among his cannon, but his heart would lie within reach of the knife of Le Subtil."'

Vol. i. pp. 152—157.

The passions of the Huron, as here developed, are, in fact, anything but characteristic of the North American savage; and it may well be doubted whether a ferocious Indian, instead of taking the scalps of the ladies on the spot, would have reserved himself for a species of revenge so distant and so refined, as

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that which Magua clearly contemplated. The dialogue, however, is not without power.

But it is time to advert to the real hero of the piece. Nathaniel Bumppo, called by the Delawares Hawkeye, from his quick and accurate sight, was a provincialist, who from early life had associated with the Indians as a hunter, and become attached to them, or at least to the tribe of the Mohicans, and their wandering mode of life. At the time our author takes him up, he had been for some years employed as a scout and partisan warrior in the Canadian wars. In these hazardous services he was joined with Uncas and his father, the great Mohican chief; and the three had rendered themselves so formidable to the enemy, that they were universally known and dreaded by the French and their savage allies under certain nicknames, which they had bestowed upon them as indicative of some peculiar qualities. Uncas, from his agility and swiftness of foot, was called Le Cerf Agile; Chingachgook, either from the manner in which he secretly glided upon his enemies, and again eluded their grasp, or because they esteemed him perhaps little better than the arch fiend himself, was Le Gros Serpent; and Nathaniel Bumppo, from the tremendous effect of his long rifle, was named La Longue Carabine. These wars were particularly formidable to our ancestors from the number and ferocity of the savage allies of France; the vast American forest presented no field for regular tactics and scientific warfare; so that it became necessary for the English to meet the invaders with some arm better fitted to the nature of the country and the character of the enemy, than the well drilled mechanical soldier of Europe. For this purpose they did not scruple to employ such tribes of Indians as were not already enlisted against them; but their main dependence was upon the hardy yeomanry of the country, who were more interested to defend the soil, and who had learnt from long experience how to meet their wily and remorseless foe. These men were sometimes formed into regular companies and battalions of rangers; but more often mingled with the natives of the forest in desultory warfare, and formed small independent skirmishing parties, in which the red and the white man fought side by side, and shared together the hardships and privations of the wilderness. When this course of life was pursued year after year, it is not surprising that many a white man should have partially adopted the habits and manners of his red associates, and become averse to the restraints of civilized life. Similar

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instances, though rare, may be found even at the present day. Who has not heard of the white hunter and warrior, famous in his day, who had settled himself down in some distant and secluded spot to pass the remnant of his life, as he imagined, far from the encroachments of civilization? But after a few years a settlement of whites is formed in his vicinity, and he becomes so much annoyed by this interruption of his repose, that he voluntarily abandons his habitation, and plunges into the wilderness anew.

To the suggestions of some such fact, we probably owe the character of the scout, a bold and original conception, which we think, upon the whole, the best piece of invention our author has ever produced; one, we may say, which deserves to be ranked in the first class of the creations of genius. The scout, though averse to the modes of life 'down in the settlements,' is neither a savage, nor a misanthrope; on the contrary, he has a vast deal of the milk of human kindness in his composition, with an excellent moral code of his own manufacture, and religious notions which certainly do great honor to the wilderness. He adopts many of the prejudices, but few of the superstitions, and none of the barbarous practices of the people with whom he lives; and notwithstanding his attachments to savage life, he yet piques himself upon being 'genuine white,' or as he more often expresses it, 'a man without a cross.' It is true, that he considers it but an act of justice to spill the blood of a Mingo, being the natural enemy of his Mohican friends; but then, if it falls to his lot to do the deed, he chooses to do it in a civilized way, by bringing him down at a long shot with a rifle; or perhaps, if it comes to *close quarters*, by *knocking his brains out with the butt*; for the use of a tomahawk or a scalping knife he esteems 'contrary to the gift and natur of a white man,' though allowable enough in an Indian. His feats of skill with this favorite weapon are indeed prodigious; he accounts for it by informing us, that he has 'a natural turn for a rifle,' which he concludes belongs to the Bumppos, and 'must have been handed down from generation to generation, as our holy commandments tell us, all good and evil gifts are bestowed; though,' he modestly adds, he should be 'loth to answer for other people in such a matter.' He has a great share of untutored sagacity, which gives him a deep insight into human nature, according to his means and opportunities of studying it in the wilderness; and he rivals the Indians themselves in his skill at following the hid-

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den 'trail' of an enemy, or concealing his own, as well as in all other peculiar learning of the woods. He has, moreover, a great deal of natural poetry in him, without being in the least aware of it; and some of the most poetical sketches of wild scenery, which our author has given, seem to fall by accident from the lips of the scout. The following description of a natural cavern, into which he had carried the travellers in the dark, as a place of security for the night, may be taken as a specimen.

'"Such old foxes as Chingachgook and myself, are not often caught in a burrow with one hole," said Hawkeye, laughing; "you can easily see the cunning of the place; the rock is black limestone, which everybody knows is soft; it makes no uncomfortable pillow, where brush and pine wood is scarce; well, the fall was once a few yards below us, and I dare to say was, in its time, as regular and as handsome a sheet of water as any along the Hudson. But old age is a great injury to good looks, as these sweet young ladies have yet to l'arn! The place is sadly changed! These rocks are full of cracks, and in some places, they are softer than at othersome, and the water has worked out deep hollows for itself, until it has fallen back, ay, some hundred feet, breaking here, and wearing there, until the falls have neither shape nor consistency."

'"In what part of them are we?" asked Heyward.

'"Why, we are nigh by the spot that Providence first placed them at, but where, it seems, they were too rebellious to stay. The rock proved softer on either side of us, and so they left the centre of the river bare and dry, first working out these two little holes for us to hide in."

'"We are then on an island?"

'"Ay! there are the falls on two sides of us, and the river above and below. If you had daylight, it would be worth the trouble to step up on the height of this rock, and look at the perversity of the water! It falls by no rule at all; sometimes it leaps, sometimes it tumbles; there, it skips; here, it shoots; in one place 't is white as snow, and in another 't is green as grass; hereabouts, it pitches into deep hollows, that rumble and quake the 'arth; and thereaway, it ripples and sings like a brook, fashioning whirlpools and gullies in the old stone, as if 't was no harder than trodden clay. The whole design of the river seems disconcerted. First it runs smoothly, as if meaning to go down the descent as things were ordered; then it angles about and faces the shores; nor are there places wanting, where it looks backward, as if unwilling to leave the wilderness, to mingle with the salt! Ay, lady, the fine cob-

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web looking cloth you wear at your throat, is coarse, and like a fish net, to little spots I can show you, where the river fabricates all sorts of images, as if, having broke loose from order, it would try its hand at everything. And yet what does it amount to! After the water has been suffered to have its will for a time, like a headstrong man, it is gathered together by the hand that made it, and a few rods below you may see it all, flowing on steadily towards the sea, as was foreordained from the first foundation of the 'arth!"' Vol. I. pp. 73—75.

The scout and the two Mohican chiefs may be looked upon as the friendly genii, whose good office it is, with such aid as the Major is competent to render, to counteract the evil machinations of the fiendish Magua, and interpose, on all occasions of imminent peril, to rescue or protect the wandering damsels. When they first find good cause to suspect that their guide has misled them, these persons are found loitering at hand in the forest, and immediately espouse their cause, and lead them to the cavern under Glenn's Falls, which is above described. The nocturnal scene in this cavern is highly picturesque; though its romantic beauty is not a little disturbed by the absurdity of the ladies undertaking to join David Gamut in a psalm, under the edge of a cataract, the roar of which was distinctly heard, as we learn a few pages before, a mile off. Upon this occasion, however, the rushing of the waters only 'ran through their melody, like a hollow accompaniment,' which added infinitely to the effect. The fair psalmodists are disturbed in the midst of their melody by a horrid unearthly cry, which neither the scout, nor the Indians, who thought themselves familiar with all the sounds of the forest, and all the cries of man and beast, could account for. We were as much astonished as they, when we discovered that the strange and horrid noise proceeded from the horses of the travellers. These were left standing in a shallow part of the river, and concealed under a projecting bank, which it seems was now covered by a pack of hungry wolves. We should hardly think the alarm produced by the mere vicinity of these enemies sufficient to cause so unusual a phenomenon as the shriek of the horse. This, however, is a matter which we must turn over to the naturalists. The effect of this extraordinary sound is highly disastrous; as it guides the party of Indians, whom Magua had in ambush, to the spot. At dawn of day, just as the travellers are preparing to move, the well known war whoop is suddenly raised in the surrounding

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woods, and David Gamut, thrusting his head from the cavern, to find out the meaning of such a discord, draws the fire of a dozen rifles upon him, and falls senseless on the rock. Would that he had slumbered there for ever! A grand skirmish ensues. A variety of expedients are tried by the assailants, with characteristic ingenuity, to get footing on the island. But the rifle of Hawkeye deals out certain death to any warrior who exposes his person in the attempt, until a cunning savage, by some unperceived approach, gets possession of the canoe, containing all the ammunition of the party, and thus leaves them (being upon an island) without means either of retreat or defence. In this emergency, the two Mohicans and the scout take advantage of a moment when the enemy are out of sight to drop one by one into the water, and suffer themselves to be carried down the rapid unobserved, to some safe landing place. The rest of the party, being unable to follow the example, remain concealed in the cavern, where, after a long and baffling search of breathless interest, they are finally detected and captured by Magua. The whole of this bustling scene is described with our author's usual vivacity and force. It is among the most exciting in the book, and affords a fair sample of the kind of interest which is sustained throughout, and of the means by which it is created. At the same time, the description is by no means free from confusion. We must confess, that after several readings, we have derived from it but a dark idea of the topography of Glenn's Falls, and of the structure of its curious cavern.

The capture is followed by a rapid flight. Part of the Indian force is led northward to rejoin the army of Montcalm; but the prisoners are borne off toward the south by six savages under Magua's command. Their first halt is on the top of a steep conical hill in the neighbourhood of the 'health springs' either of Ballston or Saratoga, which seemed, from its towering view, to secure them effectually against sudden and unforeseen assaults. Here the dialogue of Cora and Magua takes place, from which we have given an extract above. When the vindictive Indian finds his proposals scornfully rejected by Cora, stung by this new injury, he employs his dangerous oratory in stirring up the ready spirit of revenge, which was lurking in the breasts of his comrades, against their defenceless captives, who are consequently tied to trees in each other's sight, and prepared for the torture. The first tomahawk is actually thrown at Alice, and quivers in the tree above her head.

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'The sight maddened Duncan to desperation. Collecting all his energies in one effort, he snapped the twigs which bound him, and rushed upon another savage, who was preparing, with loud yells, and a more deliberate aim, to repeat the blow. They encountered, grappled, and fell to the earth together. The naked body of his antagonist, afforded Heyward no means of holding his adversary, who glided from his grasp, and rose again with one knee on his chest, pressing him down with the weight of a giant. Duncan already saw the knife gleaming in the air, when a whistling sound swept past him, and was rather accompanied, than followed, by the sharp crack of a rifle. He felt his breast relieved from the load it had endured; he saw the savage expression of his adversary's countenance change to a look of vacant wildness, and then the Indian fell prostrate and dead, on the faded leaves by his side.' Vol. I. p. 166.

This comes from no other than one of Hawkeye's long shots; and is followed by himself, striding out of a little thicket, brandishing his formidable rifle, and shouting, 'Extarminate the varlets! no quarter to an accursed Mingo!' while at the same instant, Uncas bounds into view; and at the next, Chingachgook glides like a ghost to his side. A desperate hand to hand fight ensues, which is finally reduced, by the death of all the other Hurons, to a fearful struggle between Magua and Chingachgook, and this terminates in the escape of the former by a stratagem. The two combatants are grappled together upon the earth, mutually thrusting at each other's hearts, and eluding the deadly blow, with such subtle and rapid evolutions over the little plain that crowned the summit of the hill, that neither can Uncas put in a knife, nor Hawkeye bring down the breech of his rifle, without danger of mistaking friend for foe. In this manner they roll towards the edge of the sudden descent, when a seemingly fatal blow is dealt by the Mohican. The Huron relaxes his grasp, and falls back apparently dead; the rifle of the scout is just raised to make sure of him, when he rolls over the precipice, and instantly bounds into the surrounding thicket. This escape of Magua savours perhaps too much of the miraculous; and the expressions, intended to denote energy of action, are sometimes mere hyperbole; as where Uncas is made 'to bound from his footsteps, appearing for an instant darting through the air,' and then '*descending in a ball upon the chest of his enemy, driving him many yards from the spot* headlong and prostrate.' But upon the whole, the scene is described with so much spirit

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and effect, that we are half inclined to extract it. It is one of the best of a kind in which our author excels.

The next striking scene is that of the block house, to which Hawkeye conducts his party to rest for a portion of the night; a building formerly raised by himself for a temporary defence against the Maquas, and now mouldering in decay. The approach of a hostile party towards this new place of concealment; the mingled curiosity and awe with which two of the strangers, who had made their way into the little 'clearing,' gaze by moonlight on the house and the low mound beside it, and their respectful retreat when satisfied that the latter covers the ashes of warriors slain in a former fight, are admirably told. Yet it seems to us somewhat inconsistent with the character of Indians, searching for a hidden enemy, that they should have suffered any superstitious veneration for the dead to prevent their examining so likely a place of refuge to the living, as the interior of the block house.

As soon as the enemy are beyond hearing, the journey is renewed, and we are brought before morning to the shores of the 'Bloody Pond.' Nothing can be better than the natural feeling of superstitious awe with which the sturdy woodman points out the spot where he had himself assisted at the massacre of a considerable party of the enemy, whose dead, 'and some say dying,' were promiscuously cast into the pond; or the ghostly terror with which he discerns a human figure stalking along its shadowy margin. It turns out to be a French sentinel; whose challenge is answered by Heyward as a French officer just returned from a reconnoitre, having fortunately captured the daughters of the English commander; on which the Frenchman exclaims, '*Ma foi! mesdames; j'en suis faché pour vous;*' touching his cap with studious politeness and no little grace; '*mais, fortune de guerre! vous trouverez notre général un brave homme, et bien poli avec les dames;*' to which Miss Cora makes an equally polite reply in the same tongue, and the Frenchman turns off with another low bow, and renews his walk, humming to himself, '*Vive le vin, vive l'amour,*' &c. All this is very silly and affected; and we have more of the same stuff afterwards in the negotiation carried on by Heyward with Montcalm. If it is necessary to write French for the Frenchmen, why, when the natives hold a talk, does not the author give us a little Indian also? And why does he not carry it out and write the whole of a French conversation in French, instead of

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interlarding their language with such broken patches as, 'Your commandant is a brave man; *mais, monsieur*, is it not time to take more counsel of humanity?' '*Ces messieurs là* are most formidable when baffled.' '*Eh bien, monsieur!* shall we speak of the terms of the surrender?' [Vol. I. pp. 239, 241.] Why translate a part for the speaker, and not the whole? Shakspeare is quite a pattern of a writer in some things; but we never liked his scenes in bad French; and think this mingling of tongues, unless in the way of ordinary quotation, or for the sake of introducing some solitary characteristic expression, like the *Qui vive?* of the sentinel is, to say the least of it, in very bad taste.

The author here introduces one of those unexpected horrors, which make the blood curdle and the heart sicken. The gay sentinel is humming his favorite air, and the party are pursuing their way.

'"'T is well you understood the knave!" whispered the scout, when they had gained a little distance from the place, and letting his rifle fall into the hollow of his arm again; "I soon saw that he was one of them uneasy Frenchers, and well for him it was, that his speech was friendly, and his wishes kind; or a place might have been found for his bones amongst those of his countrymen."

'He was interrupted by a long and heavy groan, which arose from the little basin, as though, in truth, the spirits of the departed lingered about their watery sepulchre.

'"Surely, it was of flesh!" continued the scout; "no spirit could handle its arms so steadily!"

'"It *was* of flesh, but whether the poor fellow still belongs to this world, may well be doubted," said Heyward, glancing his eyes quickly around him, and missing Chingachgook from their little band. Another groan, more faint than the former, was succeeded by a heavy and sullen plunge into the water, and all was as still again, as if the borders of the dreary pool had never been awakened from the silence of creation. While they yet hesitated in an uncertainty, that each moment served to render more painful, the form of the Indian was seen gliding out of the thicket, and rejoined them, while with one hand he attached the reeking scalp of the unfortunate young Frenchman to his girdle, and with the other he replaced the knife and tomahawk that had drank his blood. He then took his wonted station, a little on one flank, with the satisfied air of a man who believed he had done a deed of merit.

'The scout dropped one end of his rifle to the earth, and leaning his hands on the other, he stood musing a moment in pro-

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found silence. Then shaking his head in a mournful manner, he muttered—

'"'T would have been a cruel and unhuman act for a white skin; but 't is the gift and natur of an Indian, and I suppose it should not be denied! I could wish, though, it had befallen an accursed Mingo, rather than that gay, young boy, from the old countries!"' Vol. I. pp. 211, 212.

The manner in which this dark deed is accomplished is, in truth, highly characteristic of the Indian. It is a natural, though shocking incident, and told with effect. It bears a similar character, if not nearly equal in effect, to the hanging of the 'skinner' in the Spy, or the drowning of Dillon in the Pilot. The feeling of unmingled horror which it creates, is a species of excitement to which our author is somewhat too fond of resorting; well knowing, that he manages it with great power. It is a power, however, which should be cautiously used; for horror is an emotion, which it does not require the highest order of talent to raise, and one which borders too nearly upon disgust, to be often employed with success. We do not complain of the present instance, because our minds are somewhat prepared by the nature of the scene, the gloomy imaginations which haunt the borders of the 'Bloody Pond,' and because, as the scout says, the act is according to 'the gift and natur of an Indian,' with whose modes of destruction we have now become in some degree familiarized; and also because we are rather given to understand and imagine what has happened, than to witness the execution of the fact. But ghastly sights and exhibitions of animal suffering are often introduced very superfluously, and for the mere sake of stage effect. For example, David Gamut is made to ride a long switchtailed mare, with a colt trotting by her side. Now the colt, though quite unnecessary, is not an unnatural appendage to the mare, and therefore in itself not to be quarrelled with. But by and by, when we arrive at Glenn's, the scout deeming it important to get rid of everything which might endanger discovery, and could not facilitate escape, the colt is put to death, and we have a detailed account of the *modus operandi*, so as to make as much of a horror out of it as the subject would bear. Here then it becomes quite apparent, that this unfortunate colt was introduced to the reader at the beginning of the book, and made to trot through four or five chapters, for no other purpose than to have its throat cut at last, under circumstances calculated to create a sensation. We consider

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this a species of cruelty to brute beasts, which ought to be noticed by the proper authorities.

After the murder of the Frenchman, the travellers change their course to avoid the line of sentinels, which they had thus unexpectedly touched. This requires them to climb a lofty mountain, from whose summit we have at daybreak a fine view of the lake, the fort, the camp, and the investing enemy. While we are yet gazing in admiration, a sudden fog comes rolling over the bosom of the lake, and wraps the scene in premature darkness. Under this cover, the scout forms the bold purpose of leading his party directly into the fort. The difficulties and dangers of a passage through the midst of the French, so near their advanced parties as to hear them converse, receive their challenges, and attract their fire, together with a hot pursuit, and the ingenuity of Hawkeye in laying his course through the fog, and preserving, or changing and resuming it, as circumstances require, are described with great spirit. But what can be more ridiculous than this; 'Duncan willingly relinquished the support of Cora to the offered arm of Uncas, and Cora as readily accepted the welcome assistance.' You that have ever seen a North American Indian, imagine him, if you can, *offering his arm to a lady*, with all the politeness of a Parisian courtier!

Having entered the fort, there is a short breathing space, in which we have little to do, except to listen to the conversations of Heyward and Munro and his daughters, and the negotiations with the Marquis de Montcalm; scenes, which are not very bad, but which yet serve to illustrate our former remark on the ill success of this writer in the elegant, or the pathetic, and generally in domestic dialogue, when compared with his great powers of describing violent action, and humorous character. But after the capitulation, we reenter upon active life, and our author is himself again. The massacre is given with probable conformity to the historical fact, and not minutely or shockingly detailed; in truth, less is made of this historical horror than we had anticipated; but the battle field, as seen and searched on the third day after the event, by the scout and his red associates, with Heyward, and Munro in quest of his lost daughters, is a powerful passage; and the reflections of Hawkeye on the scene, are in admirable keeping.

'"Nothing but vast wisdom and unlimited power should dare to sweep off men in multitudes," he added; "for it is only the one that can know the necessity of the judgment; and what is

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there short of the other, that can replace the creatures of the Lord? I hold it a sin to kill the second buck afore the first is eaten; unless a march in the front, or an ambushment, be contemplated. It is a different matter with a few warriors in open and rugged fight, for 't is their gift to die with the rifle or the tomahawk in hand; according as their natures may happen to be, white or red. Uncas, come this way, lad, and let the raven settle upon the Mingo. I know, from often seeing it, that they have a craving for the flesh of an Oneida; and it is as well to let the bird follow the gift of its natural appetite."

'"Hugh!" exclaimed the young Mohican, rising on the extremities of his feet, and gazing intently in his front, frightening away the raven to some other prey, by the sound and the action.

'"What is it, boy?" whispered the scout, lowering his tall form into a crouching attitude, like a panther about to take his leap; "God send it be a tardy Frencher, skulking for plunder. I do believe 'killdeer' would take an uncommon range to day!"'

Vol. II. pp. 8, 9.

The result of the search is a probable conclusion, that the young women are captured by Magua, and a pursuit is immediately undertaken, which occupies a great part of the second volume. Interest is given to this portion of the narrative by illustrating, with happy ingenuity, the wonderful sagacity and skill of the North American savage (in which the scout has learned to participate) in discovering and pursuing, like a hound upon the scent, 'the trail' of a flying enemy. In expeditions of this character, civilized man has often been amazed at results, which seemed to be the work of some superior intelligence; although, in fact, they were only necessary deductions of the simplest reasoning imaginable applied to minute phenomena, which escaped the notice of the white man; but which, by long habit, had become matters of familiar observation to the Indian. Thus, to take an example from our author, in the first place it is ascertained that Cora and Alice are not among the heaps of slain; but pieces of Cora's veil are found adhering to the branches of two or three shrubs, as if torn off by the rapid motion of the wearer; in the same direction an opening is observed in the underbrush, which skirts the adjoining wood, and the impression of a foot, which is soon recognised by certain marks for Magua's, is near it; at a short distance in the forest, 'the tooting we'pon of the singer' is seen dangling from a thorn bush; a little farther is the print of a woman's shoe, and a

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trinket of Alice's lies upon the ground; then we come to a sapling, about which horses have trodden; and thence their track is plain into the broad path which runs 'away to the north, in full sweep for the Canadas.' The inference from these facts is irresistible, that Cora and Alice have not perished in the massacre, but are again made captive by Magua, and are borne off, together with David Gamut, towards the Canadian frontier. A short extract will show the excellent manner in which this is managed by the author.

'"Hugh!" exclaimed Chingachgook, who had been occupied in examining an opening that had been evidently made through the low underbrush, which skirted the forest; and who now stood erect, as he pointed downwards, in the attitude and with the air of a man who beheld a disgusting serpent.

'"Here is the palpable impression of the footstep of a man!" cried Heyward, bending over the indicated spot; "he has trod in the margin of this pool, and the mark cannot be mistaken. They are captives!"

'"Better so than left to starve in the wilderness," returned the scout; "and they will leave a wider trail. I would wager fifty beaver skins to as many flints, that the Mohicans and I enter their wigwams within the month! Stoop to it, Uncas, and try what you can make of that mocassin; for mocassin it plainly is, and no shoe."

'The young Mohican bent over the track, and removing the scattered leaves from around the place, he examined it with much of that sort of scrutiny, that a money dealer, in these days of pecuniary doubts, would bestow on a suspected duebill. At length, he arose from his knees, as if satisfied with the result of the examination.

'"Well, boy," demanded the attentive scout, "what does it say? can you make anything of the telltale?"

'"Le Renard Subtil!"

'"Ha! that rampaging devil again! there never will be an end of his loping till 'killdeer' has said a friendly word to him."

'Heyward reluctantly admitted the truth of this intelligence, and now expressed rather his hopes than his doubts, by saying;

'"One mocassin is so much like another, it is probable there is some mistake."

'"One mocassin like another! you may as well say that one foot is like another; though we all know, that some are long, and others short; some broad, and others narrow; some with high, and some with low insteps; some in-toed, and some out! One mocassin is no more like another, than one book is like

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another; though they who can read in one, are seldom able to tell the marks of the other. Which is all ordered for the best, giving to every man his natural advantages. Let me get down to it, Uncas; neither book nor mocassin is the worse for having two opinions, instead of one." The scout stooped to the task, and instantly added, "you are right, boy; here is the patch we saw so often on the other chase. And the fellow will drink when he can get an opportunity; your drinking Indian always learns to walk with a wider toe than the natural savage, it being the gift of a drunkard, whether of a white or red skin. 'T is just the length and breadth, too! look at it, Sagamore; you measured the prints more than once, when we hunted the varments from Glenn's to the health springs."

'Chingachgook complied, and after finishing his short examination, he arose, and with a quiet and grave demeanour, he merely pronounced, though with a foreign accent, the word,

"Magua."' Vol. II. pp. 11—13.

Although the pursuit is in general admirably managed, yet we cannot help thinking our author has occasionally exaggerated Indian ingenuity, and taxed white credulity a little too far. That an Indian should be able to follow up a forest trail continuously from one end to the other, we can readily conceive; but that after once leaving it, and paddling forty miles over a lake, he should be able to strike it again within a short distance from his landing place, with no better guide than a surmise of the general direction of the flight, and some knowledge of the localities, seems to us to approach the marvellous. We do not know, that it is going beyond nature to make Uncas divert the course of a rivulet for the purpose of inspecting its bottom, where the trail seems otherwise to have come to a premature end; but is it not somewhat too ingenious to suppose, that the flying Indians should not only march in the stream, so as to conceal their track, but also, as if anticipating that the course of the rivulet *might* be turned, and its bottom thus be exposed, should tread in each other's footsteps with such admirable accuracy, and that under water too, as to leave but the trace of a single man?

With all the artifices of Magua to conceal his route, the trail is yet pursued with undeviating sagacity by Hawkeye and his comrades, until they find themselves in the vicinity of an Indian village, and there fortunately happen upon David Gamut, who was suffered by his captors to range about unharmed, in consequence of the superstitious feeling with which Indians are said

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to regard idiots and madmen, among whom it is no wonder that the singing man was classed. From David they learn, that Cora is left in the custody of a neighboring tribe of Delawares, while Alice is confined by Magua among the Hurons. Heyward resolves to attempt her rescue; and for this purpose introduces himself into the Huron village under the disguise of a Canadian doctor, and conjuror, of course, according to all Indian diplomas. In this capacity he is required by an aged chief to exorcise an evil spirit, of whom his daughter was possessed; and for this object he is led into a certain cave, where the sick woman lies, and in which Alice also is confined. The scout likewise gains admission to the cave, under the disguise of a *bear*, having taken the liberty to borrow the dress from an Indian conjuror, who was fond of playing that part.

We have then an interview between Heyward and Alice in the cave, during which Magua unexpectedly appears, and all hope of escape seems for the moment cut off; but the bear enacts his part with so much sagacity, that Magua, while doubting whether it be a bear or a conjuror, is made prisoner by his hug, and confined until Heyward has time to secure him more effectually. Alice is then borne off to the neighboring village of the Delawares. Magua meanwhile lies gagged and pinioned in the cave. The scout, having seen the lovers out of immediate danger, returns to the Huron village, in his bear's disguise, in order to rescue Uncas, who had been unfortunately made captive a short time before. This he effects, by inducing Uncas to put on the bearskin, while he himself assumes the dress of David, and persuades the master of sweet sound to sit in the place, and as nearly as possible in the posture of Uncas, until they should have time to effect their retreat. Thus accoutred, the scout boldly walks forth from the village, vociferating a psalm as he goes, and is followed by the bear growling at his heels.

These scenes we think are, upon the whole, the most exceptionable in the book. From the time we come in sight of the 'beaver settlement,' until we make our final exit from the Huron village, we find a series of strange mistakes, extravagant impostures, and improbable situations, with which we are hardly carried along. We can agree to Heyward's supposing the huts of the beavers at a little distance to be human habitations, but cannot so readily consent to his taking the beavers themselves for men running on all fours! And we cannot but be surprised,

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that the remarkable and ungainly proportions of David should be so completely disguised by a little paint and an odd dress, as to cheat the senses of the keen eyed scout into a momentary belief, that it was a real Indian. We are next called upon to admit, that Heyward is suddenly transformed into a Canadian physician and juggler, with such entire success, as to elude the sagacity of Magua and others of the tribe to whom he was personally known; and that he was foolhardy enough to attempt this dangerous disguise with the conviction staring him in the face, that when called upon to exhibit a specimen of his skill, he must infallibly betray equal and entire ignorance of the black and of the healing arts. What can be more improbable, than that a stranger, without the slightest evidence of medical power beyond his own impudent assertion, should be at once entrusted with so delicate an operation as expelling the evil spirit from the sick daughter of a great chief; and this, too, after it had become certain, from the capture of Uncas, that enemies were near; and there was, therefore, the more cause to suspect danger lurking in this disguise. Yet we can more readily suppose all this, than that the scout should personify the bear with such consummate address, as to stagger the shrewd Magua with a doubt, whether it were not the shaggy monster himself. We are, moreover, quite as much at a loss to imagine the construction of the cave, wherein Alice and the sick woman are concealed, with its long galleries, numerous partitions, and secret trap doors, as we were to form a tolerable idea of the cavern at Glenn's.

But the most beautiful absurdity is yet to come. When Alice is discovered by the scout, and the passage to her place of concealment is pointed out to Heyward, all burning with impatience as he is to rescue the fair captive from her thraldom, what think you the gallant Major does in the extremity of his ardor? He rushes, not to the arms of his mistress, but to a little stream of water, which trickled out of the rock, *in order to wash off his paint!* He is thus enabled to appear 'in the fine and polished lineaments with which he had been gifted by nature,' and seizes the delicious opportunity to make tender protestations of his passion and his hopes, instead of concerting some feasible plan of escape, and attempting it without delay. Perhaps, however, this is not much out of character. We always suspected the Major, from the time we first found him exercising his discretion in the choice of a route to William Henry, of being somewhat 'visited in his

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intellects;' and all his subsequent conduct only serves to confirm the opinion. We are not much better satisfied with the manner in which the escape of Uncas is managed. David is required to do, little enough to be sure, but yet somewhat more than we esteem him competent to execute; and we had rather trust the scout for a passable growl in his bearskin, than for such an imitation of the sweet melody of David, as to deceive even the untutored senses of a savage. What had become of that instinctive sagacity approaching almost to inspiration, which our author's natives were wont to have? Where were the quick eyes, where were the sharp ears of the Hurons, that so many and so gross impositions were practised upon them with impunity by red skins and white?

We would not be understood, however, as condeming *in toto* this portion of the work. On the contrary, we find much to admire. The return of the successful war party with the scalps of the enemies they had slain, and Uncas a prisoner in their hands; their triumphant reception; the flight and surrender of Uncas; the execution of the cowardly Huron; the sudden return of Magua from the hunt; his brief interview with Uncas; the effect of his inflammatory eloquence upon the tribe; and the scene in which he is released from his confinement in the cave, and receives intelligence of the escape of Uncas, and communicates to his warriors the impostures of 'La Longue Carabine,' are all conceived with power, and happily executed.

The scene then shifts to the village of the Delawares, whither Magua goes to demand restitution of his prisoners, and a fine diplomatic *talk* is holden between him and their chief orator. From this, being among the best of our author's Indian dialogues, we will make a short extract.

'"The wise Huron is welcome," said the Delaware, in the language of the Maquas; "he is come to eat his 'suc-ca-tush' with his brothers of the lakes!"

'"He is come;" repeated Magua, bending his head with the dignity of an eastern prince.'

'"Is the face of my great Canada father turned again towards his Huron children?" demanded the orator of the Delawares.

'"When was it ever otherwise!" returned Magua. "He calls my people 'his most beloved.'"

'The Delaware gravely bowed his acquiescence to what he knew to be false, and continued;

'"The tomahawks of your young men have been very red!"'

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'"It is so; but they are now bright and dull; for the Yengeese are dead, and the Delawares are our neighbors!"

'The other acknowledged the pacific compliment by a graceful gesture of the hand, and remained silent. Then Magua, as if recalled to such a recollection, by the allusion to the massacre, demanded;

'"Does my prisoner give trouble to my brothers?"

'"She is welcome."

'"The path between the Hurons and the Delawares is short, and it is open; let her be sent to my squaws, if she gives trouble to my brother."

'"She is welcome," returned the chief of the latter nation, still more emphatically.

'The baffled Magua continued silent several minutes, apparently indifferent, however, to the repulse he had received in this his opening effort to regain possession of Cora.

'"Do my young men leave the Delawares room on the mountains for their hunts?" he, at length, continued.

'"The Lenape are rulers of their own hills," returned the other, a little haughtily.

'"It is well. Justice is the master of a red skin! Why should they brighten their tomahawks, and sharpen their knives against each other! Are there not pale faces for enemies!"

'"Good!" exclaimed two or three of his auditors at the same time.

'Magua waited a little, to permit his words to soften the feelings of the Delawares, before he added;

'"Have there not been strange mocassins in the woods? Have not my brothers scented the feet of white men?"

'"Let my Canada father come!" returned the other, evasively; "his children are ready to see him."

'"When the Great Chief comes, it is to smoke with the Indians in their wigwams. The Hurons say, too, he is welcome. But the Yengeese have long arms, and legs that never tire! My young men dreamed they had seen the trail of the Yengeese nigh the village of the Delawares?"

'"They will not find the Lenape asleep."

'"It is well. The warrior, whose eye is open, can see his enemy," said Magua, once more shifting his ground, when he found himself unable to penetrate the caution of his companion. "I have brought gifts to my brother. His nation would not go on the war path, because they did not think it well; but their friends have remembered where they lived."'

Vol. II. pp. 183—185.

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He then proceeds to make a judicious distribution of trinkets selected from the plunder of the fort.

'This well judged and politic stroke on the part of Magua, was not without its instantaneous results. The Delawares lost their stern gravity, in a much more cordial expression of features; and the host, in particular, after contemplating his own liberal share of the spoil, for some moments, with peculiar gratification, repeated, with strong emphasis, the words—

'"My brother is a wise chief. He is welcome!"

'"The Hurons love their friends the Delawares," returned Magua. "Why should they not! they are colored by the same sun, and their just men will hunt in the same grounds after death. The red skins should be friends, and look with open eyes on the white men. Has not my brother scented spies in the woods?"'

p. 186.

The hearts of the Delawares being quite melted by this munificence, Magua has no farther difficulty in procuring an acknowledgment of the fact, that the strangers whom he sought, had taken refuge in the village. When this is accomplished, he communicates the information, that one of the white fugitives is the grand enemy, La Longue Carabine. In consequence of this astonishing and portentous news, an assembly of the whole nation is called, and the several prisoners are arraigned before them, that their fate may be decided by Tamenund, an ancient warrior and sage, whose decrees were regarded among his people as the oracles of Manitto. The childish old chief, is with difficulty made to comprehend the nature of the appeal which lies before him, sufficiently to decree, that Magua 'take his own and depart,' but that Uncas, who had been represented to him as an enemy and spy in the pay of the Yengeese, should be dealt upon by his own people at their pleasure. The instant this decree is pronounced Uncas is seized by the surrounding warriors, who begin to strip him for the torture; but in the act the figure of a small tortoise is seen *tattooed* upon his breast. This was the 'totem,' or armorial device, of the Lenni Lenape, 'the Grandfather of Nations' (according to the modest account of Heckewelder and themselves), and admitted by the Delawares to be the ancient stock, from which the tribe of Tamenund was but a collateral sprout. The effect of this discovery is electrical. Chingachgook and his son were known to be the sole surviving remnant of that mighty race; and Uncas, from a condemned criminal, immediately becomes the chieftain of the

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tribe. By his representations Tamenund is made to perceive, that Magua cannot claim the right of a conqueror over enemies who had escaped from his power by the lawful stratagems of war, and who had thrown themselves on the hospitality of his nation; and that Hawkeye had always been the friend and ally of the descendants of the Lenni Lenape. But Cora was a mere deposite in the hands of the Delawares, and her they were bound to render. Upon this right, Magua, who had been baffled at every turn, resolutely insists, and will listen to no terms of ransom, not even to the life of La Longue Carabine, which is magnanimously offered in her behalf. He is therefore permitted to reclaim his pledge, and depart in peace; but Uncas gives him notice, that ere long warriors will be upon his trail. Accordingly the war-post is struck, and the death song sung, and two hundred Delaware warriors are in arms against the Hurons. A bloody fight ensues; the Delawares are victorious, the Hurons nearly exterminated. Magua, seeing the battle lost, flies to the cave where Cora is concealed, pursued by Uncas, and Heyward, and the scout; Cora is borne off by the Hurons, but the pursuers gain upon their steps; finding escape with her impossible, Magua draws his knife, and once more offers her to choose 'the wigwam, or the knife, of Le Subtil.' He is yet hesitating to strike, when 'a piercing cry was heard above them, and Uncas appeared leaping frantically from a fearful height. Magua recoiled a step, and one of his assistants, profiting by the chance, sheathed his own knife in the bosom of the maiden.' Before Uncas can recover himself from the fall consequent on his tremendous leap, he receives his death wound from Magua, who is in turn brought to the earth by the rifle of the scout. The book closes with the burial of Uncas and Cora, at the village of the Delawares.

These hundred pages, from the entrance of Magua into the village of the Delawares to the end of the tale, are wrought in part with a more delicate and in part with a bolder hand than any in the book. They possess unusual interest and much excellence of execution. The appearance of the venerable Tamenund, the patriarch of his tribe, 'an old, old man, whose locks were white as snow,' borne down with the weight of years, and loaded with the emblems of the achievements and renown of days long gone by, is a highly imposing and poetical vision. His feeble and dreamy attention to the scene before him, his perpetual recurrence to the events of his youth, and utter oblivion of

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those of yesterday, his deep rooted and bitter prejudices against the pale faces, from whose arrival he dates the ruin of his race, are all perfectly natural; and his general demeanor during the examination of the prisoners is entirely consistent with his years and his honors. The several appeals of Magua, and Cora, and Uncas to the justice and magnanimity of the Delawares have a good deal of appropriate eloquence, and the whole scene is admirably dramatic. But the pertinacity of Heyward, in arrogating to himself the title of La Longue Carabine, with the view of saving its real owner at the hazard of his own life, seems to be somewhat out of nature even for a hero of romance, considering not only that there was enough of doubt and danger hanging over his own fate, but that the fate of the fair Alice also depended somewhat upon his. The anxiety of the scout, on the other hand, to maintain his personal identity against this unexpected impeachment, 'although it should cost him his scalp,' seems to us much more in character. The preparations for battle, and the battle itself, are given as our author usually gives scenes of that character, with much force and effect. We do not think the flight and death scene of Uncas and Cora, however, by any means the best part of it. It seems to us somewhat confused, partly owing perhaps to the hurry of the action, but chiefly to our slender acquaintance with the geography of those parts, as derived from our author's descriptions; and the death of Cora affects us no otherwise than as a striking incident which comes upon us by entire surprise, while we are yet looking for the tomahawk of Uncas or the rifle of Hawkeye to interpose in her behalf. The funeral obsequies are probably thus minutely described as a means of illustrating the manners and customs of the Indians, which are very well depicted, here as elsewhere, throughout the book, excepting so far as the Delawares have been beautified beyond aboriginal nature.

The funeral of Cora reminds us of a considerable defect in the story, by bringing the old Colonel again to light. After he had arrived at the end of the trail, being found wholly unfit for service, he was stowed away for safe keeping in a beaver's hut, under the guardianship of Le Gros Serpent. Thence Chingachgook is made to thrust his head out now and then, and when the fight ensues, his rifle bears its part in the destruction of the day. He does not do indeed all we had a right to expect from the Last of the Mohicans; his glories are somewhat too easily eclipsed by the rising sun of Uncas; but still he

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does enough in support of his own character to dignify his sorrows and move our respect. The Colonel, on the other hand, having travelled a long journey with no other object than to find and rescue his lost daughters, does no one thing towards the effecting of that object, but after burying himself with the beavers whilst others are fighting his battles, emerges again at last only to blubber over the grave of Cora.

The greatest fault of this work upon the whole is a little overdoing of the very thing which constitutes its chief excellence. The incidents are too crowded; there are too many imminent dangers and hair breadth escapes; far too much of the same sort of excitement; too many startling sights, and unearthly sounds, and amazing accidents. We scarcely set out ere we meet some shaggy monster thwarting our path; and as we advance 'on Horror's head horrors accumulate,' so that there is not a moment's feeling of ease and security, and comfortable recreation from one end of our journey to the other. If a horror is not actually going on before our eyes we know at least that it is in preparation and not far off. There is a sort of perpetual consciousness that we are seated upon a barrel of gunpowder; and after one grand explosion is past, instead of finding a fit occasion for thanking our stars that the danger is all over, we have only time to wonder what the conjurer will do next, before we find ourselves again up in the air. This results in part from the nature of the subject, scenes of war in a wilderness and among savages. But these might have been relieved, and their effect consequently heightened, by the mixture of a little quiet domestic life, if our author had any turn that way; a few in-door pictures something above those at the quarters of Colonel Munro, and a few strokes of humor, a little better, we should hope, than David's intolerable psalmody, would have been a prodigious improvement. At any rate, without the introduction of new characters, or material alterations of the scene, we might have been horrified, and alarmed, and astonished less frequently than we are, to great advantage. The Indians are admirable instruments of romance; but our author works them to death. Besides he is constantly going out of his way to show us a series of unconnected, extraordinary spectacles, and to put his actors in strange postures and unusual situations, which contribute little to the developement of their characters and nothing to the accomplishment of the plot, for the mere sake of a momentary effect. An example of this is the night scene near the fort after the articles of

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capitulation had been signed, which were to take effect on the following day. A man wrapped in a martial cloak is seen to move at dead of night from the lodging of the French general; he passes beyond the lines of the little city of tents, and halts before the walls of the fortress. From the interview with the sentinel we discover him to be Montcalm. Presently another military figure, whom we recognise for Munro, is seen to walk out upon the rampart; and anon a low plash is heard in the waters of the neighboring lake, and a dusky being is seen to steal *out of it*. This we know to be Magua. These several movements are got up with great solemnity and circumstance, as if something of the last importance were to be acted. The leaders of the French, the English, and the Indian forces are mysteriously brought together at midnight, and we naturally expect some great event which will forward the main action. Instead of this Magua only points his rifle at Munro, Montcalm unexpectedly seizes it, and the Indian cries 'Hugh!' Now all this is very well told, and produces a little stage effect. But *cui bono?* The effect is too manifestly the sole motive for the scene; and a good deal of machinery is put into operation to produce it. The Frenchman is made to break his slumbers and walk out of his marquise, and pass his sentinels and put himself to a world of trouble, 'in the dead vast and middle of the night,' for no imaginable end but to stand and look at the wall. The Englishman at the same instant sallies forth from his quarters, with no particular object in view but to go and look *over* the wall; and the malignant Magua, thirsting for murder and revenge, seizes the opportunity to steal out with his rifle, why we know not, unless because he thinks it likely the English commander will want to look over the wall about that time.

This is a species of jugglery, which we notice in the present instance, not because the instance is particularly exceptionable, but because our author is too fond of playing off tricks merely to susprise us. Indeed it must be manifest from the abstract we have given, that the interest of this tale is sustained almost wholly by a series of such inventions; and this is the case in a considerable degree with all the tales from the same hand. Now the interest so excited is by no means of the best sort, nor the talent requisite to produce it of the highest order; and it is the more unpardonable in our author to resort to these subterfuges of poverty, because he has given abundant proof of

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superior powers. It seems to be the result of a sort of aboriginal taste, which delights in finery and glitter, and provided there be a dazzling effect, cares little whether it be produced by tinsel or gold.

We intended to notice the Pioneers more particularly than our limits will now allow. This work, however, has been a long time before the public, and the reader will probably desire to view it at present only in its connexion with the Last of the Mohicans. Though composed, we presume, long before any tale founded upon the fall of Fort William Henry was thought of, it may yet be looked upon as a natural sequel to the later work. The scene is laid not far from the same tract of country, at a period subsequent to the American Revolution; and both Hawkeye and Chingachgook reappear in its pages to act out, or nearly so, the remainder of their long and memorable lives. When we have heretofore spoken of the character of Nathaniel Bumppo as the most striking original of our author's drawing, it has been more perhaps with reference to his appearance as the Leatherstocking of the Pioneers than as the scout in the wars of 1757. The latter is a mere copy by the same hand, or rather a new draught of the same personage at a different period of life and under other circumstances; and we cannot but think that it has something less of the spirit and raciness of originality. The story of the Pioneers, so far as it concerns Nathaniel, may be shortly told. After serving through the French wars, he had built for himself a hut near the shores of the Otsego Lake, then an uninhabited wilderness, and there lived a hunter's life, unmolested for many years by the noisy tread of civilization, and depending wholly for subsistence upon his rifle and his rod. At length Marmaduke Temple became the ostensible owner of this tract; and forthwith the forests began to be cleared, and roads to be laid out, and mills to be erected, and all the other appendages of a settlement to appear; in short, the village of Templeton grew up almost in a night, and was standing in full view from the hut of the Leatherstocking. This was a sore grievance to Natty; but he continued still to pursue his old habits as far as scarcity of game and the frequency of the 'clearings' would permit, and found a solace for these great evils in the society of his old friend Chingachgook, who meanwhile had been christianized by the Moravians, and had assumed the baptismal name of John; whence he was commonly known among the villagers by the name of Indian John, being probably the only

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aboriginal inhabitant of Judge Temple's domain. As no one but Indian John and a youth named Oliver Edwards, who had appeared somewhat mysteriously in the neighborhood, was ever permitted by the Leatherstocking to see the inside of his hut, a restless curiosity grew up among the people of Templeton to discover the cause of all this mystery. At last a certain 'Squire Doolittle, being a justice of the peace, and strongly suspecting some secret conspiracy against the power of the county, suffered his regard to the public good to carry him so far as to visit the hut at a time when he knew its mysterious occupants were away. On finding the hounds of Leatherstocking tied near the door, the same public spirit compelled him to cut the thongs by which they were bound, taking care to do it with a knife lashed to a very long stick, and, after they had bounded far into the woods, to attempt a forcible entry of the hut. In this he did not succeed. But the hounds meantime had started a buck, which took to the lake where Natty, and Indian John, and young Edwards were fishing. This temptation was too strong for mere mortals to resist. So the buck was slain in the month of July, contrary to a certain statute in that case made and provided; and all this passed before the eyes of Mr Hiram Doolittle. The consequence was, that a complaint was lodged against the Leatherstocking, and a search warrant issued under the pretence of seeking for the body of the slaughtered buck. But Natty's ideas of law were very limited; the only legal maxim he had probably ever heard of was, that his hut was his castle; and upon the strength of this he made bold to resist the process of the law; in consequence of which the *posse comitatus* was summoned. But when the sheriff with his rabble arrived on the spot, he found nothing save a heap of smouldering ruins in the place of the hut; Natty himself, however, perceiving the approach of the multitude, emerged from the neighboring wood and surrendered at discretion. An indictment being found against him, and a case clearly proved upon it, he was sentenced to thirty days' imprisonment besides a considerable fine. But Natty, having roamed the wilderness according to his pleasure during a long life, had no idea of spending thirty days in a palace, far less in a prison, and by the assistance of young Edwards he effected his escape. He was pursued into the woods, and found at last in a cave, where the whole secret of the hut is laid bare in the person of Major Effingham, under whom Natty had served through the French wars, and who was secreted by

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his grandson, the pretended Oliver Edwards, in this spot. The necessity or object of the concealment is not very clearly explained, and as the explanation has nothing to do with the Leatherstocking, we shall not lay it before our readers. It is enough to know, that after all his troubles in the law seemed to be at an end, and his friend the young Effingham was married to the daughter of Judge Temple, and the youthful pair were desirous to rebuild the hut of the Leatherstocking, and render his last days comfortable and happy, the old man was one day seen for the last time with his rifle on his shoulder, and his pack on his back, followed by his faithful hounds, on his way to the Big Lakes, where he had heard there was 'the best of hunting, and a great range without a white man on it.'

Our author informs us that the Pioneers was written expressly to please himself. From his repetition of Chingachgook and Nathaniel in the Last of the Mohicans, we presume it is still a favorite, and on this point we have the pleasure to agree with him. The numerous characters introduced to play their respective parts in the rise and progress of Templeton, and whom we have no opportunity to notice, are drawn with great spirit and originality, and are precisely such a collection as we uniformly meet when we visit a young thriving village in the interior of our country. But the Leatherstocking is a natural, and yet highly poetical being, not only far above the ordinary run of fictitious personages, but even superior to the scout, whom we nevertheless esteem highly. It is the same Nathaniel Bumppo; but his native peculiarities are bolder in the full developement of a green old age, and rendered more striking by a judicious contrast. His description of the Catskill is much in the style of the scout's description of Glen's, which we have quoted above; but we think it better, and regret that our limits will not permit us to extract it; and but for the same cause we could make extracts to great advantage from any of the several scenes in which this son of the wilderness is brought into collision with civilization, and made the subject of laws and customs entirely adverse to those of the woods.

Chingachgook, as he appears in the Pioneers, is very much such a humbled, long haired, half civilized, and drunken Indian as we have often seen, with some little remnant of his ancient glories about him. His death scene, in which, notwithstanding his supposed conversion to Christianity, he is plainly relapsing into the faith of his fathers, looking forward

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to the happy hunting grounds where he shall rejoin the spirits of his tribe, is very well done; as are several other passages designed to exhibit the apparent incapacity of the red man to conceive the religion of the whites. The attitude of the Indian, for example, in the following short extract, is not more characteristic of his nation, than the entire opposition of the feeling which accompanies it to the meek spirit of Christianity.

'"John," said the divine, when the figure of Judge Temple disappeared, the last of the group, "tomorrow is the festival of the nativity of our blessed Redeemer, when the church has appointed prayers and thanksgivings, to be offered up by her children, and when all are invited to partake of the mystical elements. As you have taken up the cross, and become a follower of good, and an eschewer of evil, John, I trust I shall see you before the altar, with a contrite heart, and a meek spirit."

'"John will come," said the Indian, betraying no surprise, if he did not understand all the terms used by the other.

'"Yes," continued Mr Grant, laying his hand gently on the tawny shoulder of the aged chief, "but it is not enough to be there in the body only; you must come in the spirit, and in truth. The Redeemer died for all, for the poor Indian, as well as for the white man. Heaven knows no difference in color; nor must earth witness a separation of the church. It is good and profitable, John, to freshen the understanding, and support the wavering, by the observance of our holy festivals; but all form is but stench, in the nostrils of the Holy One, unless it be accompanied by a devout and humble spirit."

The Indian stepped back a little, and, raising his body to its utmost powers of erection, he stretched his right arm on high, and dropped his forefinger downward, as if pointing from the heavens, and striking his other hand on his naked breast, he said, with energy—

'"The eye of the Great Spirit can see from the clouds;—the bosom of Mohegan is bare."

'"It is well, John, and I hope you will receive profit and consolation, from the performance of this duty. The Great Spirit overlooks none of his children; and the man of the woods, is as much an object of his care, as he who dwells in a palace. I wish you a good night, and pray God to bless you."

'The Indian bent his head, and they separated—the one to seek his hut, and the other to join the party at the supper table.'

It is hardly fair, however, in giving the scene, to omit Ben Pump's nautical views of this subject.

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'As he was opening the door, for the passage of the chief, he cried, in a tone that was meant to be quite consoling,

'"The parson says the word that is true, John. If so be, that that they took count of the color of a skin in heaven, why, they might refuse to muster on their books, a christian born, like myself, just for the matter of a little tan, from cruising in warm latitudes; though, for the matter of that, this damned norwester is enough to whiten the skin of a blackamoor. Let the reefs out of your blanket, man, or your red hide will hardly weather the night, without a touch from the frost."' VOL. I. pp. 106, 107.

The Last of the Mohicans, we believe has generally been the more popular of these two books. But for ourselves, we still hold to the Pioneers, and trust our author will in future always write to please himself, although we are not sure we might not have as long a catalogue of errata to correct in this production, as in that which we have so copiously noticed, if time and space did not fail us. The truth is, we have concerned ourselves chiefly to notice our author's faults, because Mr Cooper is already too far advanced to stand in need of our praise; and we desire, not only that the public taste should be correct on the subject of our native literature, but also, if it be possible, and any suggestion of ours can effect it, to see something from this pen free from the numerous defects which deform its present productions, and every way worthy of the great powers and far spread fame of the American novelist.

ART. X.—*Sampson's Discourse and Correspondence with various learned Jurists upon the History of the Law, with the Addition of several Essays, Tracts, and Documents relating to the Subject. Compiled and published by Pishey Thompson.* Washington City. 8vo. pp. 202.

UPON the leading article of this collection we have already commented at length in our fortyfifth Number; and we have no reason to alter our opinion of its merits or utility. We have no doubt that it has had much influence, and been instrumental in bringing about that change, which is evident in the public mind

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and that of many of the profession, in respect to the important subject of our jurisprudence.

The principal object, which Mr Sampson proposed in his Discourse, delivered before the Historical Society of New York, on the sixth of December, 1823, was, as he expressed it, 'to challenge into the noblest field of exertion the talent and genius of our country, much of which is now lost in barren erudition;' and in this his success will appear from the various pieces to which his Discourse has given rise, many of which are contained in the volume under consideration. For the embodying of these pieces in a permanent form, the publisher is entitled to his share of credit, although, as he states in his preface, 'in the series of the communications he has not been able to observe an exact order, as several of them were not obtained till after the book was in the press.'

The dedication of the publisher to the nineteenth Congress, being in a single sentence, for its brevity's sake we here insert; 'To the Senate and Representatives in the Nineteenth Congress of the United States now assembled, charged by the Sovereign States and People of the Union to guard their interests, promote their wellbeing, provide for their wants, and effectuate their wishes, this volume is respectfully dedicated, by the Publisher.' Whether the subject of the book might not usefully have occupied the time and attention thrown away upon other matters, and with satisfaction to the people at large, we will not say; the public may, and probably will, judge of that. And how far it belongs to the national legislature, with its limited jurisdiction, to lead the way, or for the State legislatures to make the necessary reforms in their respective codes, is a question upon which we are not prepared to give any opinion; but we are very well pleased to see the public feeling alive upon so important a concern, and shall do what we can to keep it so, and to promote free, fair, and liberal discussion.

Before the publication of Mr Sampson's Discourse, there was a prevailing idea, not merely with the profession of the law, who imbibed it at the outset of their studies and cherished it from habit ever after, that there was some mysterious excellence in the common law; that it had its source in the purity and simplicity of some ancient but undefined epoch; that as letters were not much used in those times of wise simplicity, it had been handed down by tradition from age to age, and generation to generation; and that though the corrupt learning of the

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schools which obtained in late ages, and the false refinements of modern innovation, had greatly impaired its original purity and pristine vigor, yet its regenerating principle was gradually operating to restore its primitive virtues, and original sanctity. And what gave most authority to this notion was the eloquent and persuasive manner in which it was set forth by Sir William Blackstone, in his otherwise excellent and elegant Commentaries on the Laws of England.

It required both industry and courage to encounter such authority, and to array, in opposition to opinions of so long standing, however weak their foundation, the overwhelming proofs which were necessary to do away those ancient prejudices. In neither of these qualities was the author of the Discourse deficient. These proofs were to be found in history, and the occasion was propitious. Mr Sampson was invited by a learned society, instituted for the purposes of historical knowledge and investigation, and he contrived by the power of rigorous condensation to bring together such evidence as it was impossible to refute, all going to prove that an ideal perfection had been ascribed to times and persons quite inconsistent with any correct view of the history of those persons or those ages.

It was, however, natural to suppose that so bold and animated an attack upon actual opinions and prejudices would excite attention; and so it accordingly happened, as the various pieces in the collection before us manifestly show. Some, without thinking it necessary to argue upon what they considered as fixed and first principles, thought of nothing but the pious duty of crying down the new heresy and the heretic; others, who had before inclined to such opinions, and rejoiced to see their own thoughts so fully developed, abounded in the sense of the author; others commended the style and manner, and even the matter, but cautiously, and without saying why, reserved their judgments. We have had the curiosity to look back upon the opinion we ourselves then formed, and we find (Vol. XIX. p. 416) these words, 'We estimate highly his learning and genius; we approve for the most part the views he has taken of an important subject, and admire the generous zeal with which he has thrown himself into the front ranks of those who contend for the cause of truth and reason with little chance of honor or success.'

We are now glad to find that this latter qualification might have been spared. If the reprinting of the Discourse in this

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country and in Europe, with so much encomium and such favorable notice, be an honor to the author, or the influence it has had on opinions, be success, these objects have been attained; and if we have duly estimated the character of the author, narrow views of self interest do not belong to it.

Certain it is, that a great point has been gained. The ablest jurists in our country are now agreed, and this agreement is now open, declared, and manifest, that it was a vain superstition to impute the wisdom of the common law to the ancient inhabitants of Britain, or to what Sir William Blackstone, with a fond partiality, calls 'our own Saxon princes.' For this it will be sufficient to cite the work of Mr Du Ponceau on the Jurisdiction of the Courts of the United States.

This learned author, and the other jurists of our country who vindicate the principles, but not the defects of the common law, expressly exclude from their admiration the common law of the Saxons, Danes, and Normans, as also that which prevailed during the reigns of the Plantagenets and the first Stuarts; but they are for upholding that which took its rise in the middle of the seventeenth century, to which the second revolution in 1688 gave shape and figure, which was afterwards improved in England, but received its greatest lustre in this country. We have already commented upon Mr Du Ponceau's work, and we are not ashamed to say, that upon the great and remaining question of substituting entire new textuary codes of positive enactment in the place of this traditional and judicial law, we have hesitated, or even vacillated somewhat in our opinions. Thus much, however, we promise to our readers, that we will be attentive to the subject, and as proper opportunities occur, apprize them of its progress, and endeavor to form an opinion in which we can ourselves confide, upon full and mature consideration. Already the enactment of new and entire codes, each part made with a view to the whole, has been recommended by two state governors, Mr Wilson, late governor of South Carolina, and Mr Clinton, governor of New York. Why the recommendation has not been acted upon in the legislature of either of those states, we do not know. Things less honorable to the legislators who have passed them by, have certainly been debated. England has, to her honor be it spoken, done more within these few years; and we fear, in this, as in too many other things, our dependence will appear.

It would lead us too far, at present, to follow this considera-

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tion to its proper limits; and we only notice the volume now before us, because we think it contains much useful reasoning and many important facts, of which every statesman, legislator, lawyer, merchant, and citizen, should be apprized. To treat the writings and opinions of such men as those, whose letters or essays compose this collection, with disregard, would be blameable; to controvert them by argument would be fair; to deny the facts which are authentic, would show imbecility and ignorance.

It may be worth remarking, that the question now agitated, and with daily increasing interest, is not altogether the same as that which divided the Sabinian and Proculian sects, namely, whether reason or precedent should govern; nor can it be resolved by the example of the Herciscundi, who endeavored to steer a middle course, and avoid the absurdities into which the violence of opposition had carried each of the contending parties. For we have written constitutions paramount to all other law, which have for a fundamental principle, that the three departments of the government should be kept entirely distinct, each rigorously confined to the exercise of its own peculiar functions. Our judges are prohibited from legislating; and yet it cannot be denied, that the greater, and we do not scruple to say the better part of our law is neither traditional, for there could be no such traditions; nor statute, for there are no such statutes; but judicial law, enacted by the sole authority of the judges, and the records of it are the books of reports.

It may then be asked, Why not leave it entirely to the judges to proceed, and let the law go on improving under their hands? It would be a sufficient answer, that it is not consistent with the principles of our constitution; but enough will be found in the little volume which we recommend, to satisfy inquiry on that head. The reader will there find the suggestion of the committee appointed by the legislature of Louisiana to revise their civil code; namely, that the judges' decisions, when made in the exercise of their discretionary power in cases not provided for, should be reported to the legislature, so as to be, not laws, but the means of improving the laws.

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Art. XI.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1.—*Roman Nights; or the Tomb of the Scipios.* By Alessandro Verri. Translated from the Italian by a Lady. New York. 1825. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 180. 178.

The composition of dialogues of the dead has always been a favorite and successful species of writing in every age of European literature. From the satiric and witty Lucian, who aimed the keen shafts of his ridicule at the weaknesses of all the great characters of antiquity, sparing neither gods nor men from the severe attacks of his impartial irony, down to the times of the lively and attic Fontenelle, and of the English Lyttelton, examples of these imaginary conversations are continually occurring. Modern ingenuity has frequently improved upon the simplicity of the ancient models, by weaving the discourse of departed shades into a narration of connected incidents, as in the *Divina Commedia.* Verri's *Notti Romane* is a work of this latter kind; and with something of singularity, and almost of grotesqueness, in its plan, is nevertheless distinguished by beauties of the highest order.

The book consists of fictitious conferences between the author and the spirits of eminent Romans, and between these Romans themselves in the author's presence. These conferences take place at the outset, in the tomb of the Scipios. Attracted by the fame of this recently discovered monument of a family so illustrious, Verri is supposed to repair to the catacombs in the night, for the purpose of exploring them undisturbed. Whilst there, his torch was extinguished by a gust of wind rushing through the cavern; and the gloomy 'domains of the dead' gradually became peopled with myriads of spectres, whose dress and language bespoke them to be the *gens togata*, the proud citizens of the queen and conqueror of nations, of imperial Rome. The apparitions at length crowd around one whose majestic mien and lofty presence command respect; and who appears to be addressing the silent and attentive multitude. This individual is Cicero. When he had ceased speaking to the assembled phantoms, he is accosted by Verri, and becomes a kind of guide, a *cicerone,* explaining to our author the names and situation of the persons, who act a part in the subsequent incidents; filling, indeed, precisely the same place as Virgil in the *Inferno;*

Tu duca, tu signore, tu maestro.

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Brutus and Cæsar, the Gracchi, Scipio Æmilianus, and others, then arise in succession, and discuss the most important events of their times. The first night is thus consumed, and on the two following nights we are introduced to Marius, Sylla, Atticus, Lucretia, Junius Brutus, Virginius, Cato the Censor, Pompey, Antony and Cleopatra, Cato Uticensis, Octavius, and the poet Horace. All this is represented as happening at the tomb of the Scipios; but during the three remaining nights the spirits leave the sepulchre, and pass to the examination of modern Rome, continuing their discussions upon the leading facts in Roman history, and upon subjects, which the sight of the monuments of Roman grandeur suggest. Of the new characters now brought on the stage, the most prominent are Romulus, Numa, and the vestal Floronia.

These are the Roman Nights, in which the national policy of the republic, the acts and motives of her celebrated citizens, her laws, religion, and military achievements, are critically scrutinized, and dissected with the skill of a master. The ground work of the whole is authentic history; and we know not any book, which exhibits, in the same compass, a more graphic and vivid picture of the politics of the republic. The style of Verri is very happy. His diction is nervous, and his taste correct and manly. The besetting sin of his countrymen, a vice into which they are easily betrayed by the copiousness and melody of their beautiful tongue, is a tendency to diffuseness, prolixity, and effeminacy of style. These defects are by no means essential to the language, which is capable of being moulded to the utmost dignity and energy of expression. What poetry is more terse, more instinct with vigor, more the opposite of careless ease and familiar diffuseness than Alfieri's? What prose is more expressive, pointed, and energetic, than Ugo Foscolo's? And Verri has imitated, with great felicity, the noble and stately, yet simple and unambitious style, which we should consider appropriate to the *dramatis personæ* of the Nights. His felicitous imitation, or we should rather say adoption, of the genuine Roman turn of expression, is one of the charms of his work; and shows how nearly allied are the Latin and the Italian, the latter, indeed, being scarcely more than a softened dialect of its venerable parent tongue.

We have not compared the translation before us with its original carefully enough to express an unqualified opinion of its fidelity. The style of it is good; and the work is creditable to its fair authoress, who deserves praise for contributing her efforts to render Americans familiar with the riches of Italian literature. We could wish, however, that it preserved a greater share of Verri's

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latinity of diction than it does; for this property is essential to the *keeping* of the dialogue, and is peculiarly efficacious in giving it an air of perfect reality and truth.

2.—1. *Anniversary Address on the Progress of the Natural Sciences in the United States; delivered before the Lyceum of Natural History of New York, February*, 1826. By James E. De Kay. New York. G. & C. Carvill. 8vo. pp. 78.

2. *Report of a Committee of the Trustees of the Boston Athenæum, made to the Proprietors, May* 25, 1826.

The principal object of this Address is thus stated by the author.

'On the present occasion it is proposed to give a brief outline of the progress and present state of the Natural Sciences in the United States. Such occasional exhibitions are something more than mere appeals to national vanity. They are consonant with the usages of other nations, and if faithfully executed, are not always flattering to national pride. They become useful records of the labors of our contemporaries, may indicate sources of information, which might be overlooked by the inquirer, and often serve as an incitement to greater exertion with the rising generation.' p. 6.

Of the usefulness of such undertakings there can be no question; and the one before us seems to be executed with care and correctness. The votaries of Natural Science will be gratified to perceive how much has been done by Americans, in this department, during the last eight or ten years, compared with any former period. The amount, indeed, is not great in itself, but it gives promise of more; for men seldom stop, who have once entered on this career. The natural curiosity of man is sharpened, and his intellectual activity increased, by every new attainment in these pursuits. In science we can never reach a height, from which another more commanding cannot be observed; we are drawn on from step to step, the prospect is continually expanding, and our appetite for knowledge 'doth make the meat it feeds on.' Among the sources of happiness, the pursuit of science holds one of the first places; since the principal employment of those engaged in it, is the successful invention of new pleasures. We are rejoiced, then, at everything that may turn the attention of our countrymen towards this occupation, which will continually present worthy objects for that activity, which is too often wasted in useless or hurtful undertakings.

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It appears from Dr De Kay's Address, that very little was done in the science of Mineralogy before Professor Cleaveland published his Elementary Treatise in 1816; since then, several smaller works have been published, especially local catalogues of minerals, such as those of Webster, Hale, and Robinson; and, in the words of the Address,

'Mineralogy has now become a popular branch of science; lectures are delivered in every considerable town in the Union; and extensive cabinets of minerals are to be met with in every direction. Increased attention has been paid to the composition of minerals, and several of our countrymen, with a view of perfecting themselves in this delicate branch, have enrolled themselves in the School of Mines at Paris. Many new mineral species have been firmly established, and others, which were doubtful, have been reexamined, and restored to their proper places in the system.' pp. 11, 12.

The progress of Geology has been still more striking.

'Previous to the year 1812,' says the Address, 'the published notices on our geology were few and unimportant; and little more was known, in a geological point of view, of the United States, than that they extended along the coast of the Atlantic, and were bounded on the north by a chain of mighty lakes. Mr Maclure, a gentleman peculiarly qualified for such a task by a familiar acquaintance with the most interesting formations of Europe, commenced a personal examination of this country, which he traversed in various directions. The result of his labors was given to the public in 1817, under the title of "Observations on the Geology of the United States." This is a bold outline, sketched by a masterly hand, and replete with the most valuable and interesting information.

'The geologists of Europe, who had been chiefly occupied with their theories and speculations, and from the phenomena of a mole hill had not unfrequently deduced principles on which depended the formation of a world, were struck with the simple, yet grand features, presented by this geological map of America.' pp. 15, 16.

The publication of Mr Maclure's observations has been followed by numerous others on the geology of separate districts, of which a particular account is given in this Address, and which are probably only the forerunners of more extensive and important geological investigations.

The science of Botany has fared better in this country than the sister sciences. It has been longer an object of attention, which, for obvious reasons, has been more general. Beside the larger works on this subject, we have numerous local Floras, and

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new ones are frequently appearing. There is still, however, according to Dr De Kay, a deficiency of good elementary works. As an evidence of the increasing attention to this science it is stated, that 'four successive editions of Eaton's Manual of Botany have been published during the last four years.' The attention of American botanists, however, has been directed principally to the phenogamous plants. The department of the cryptogamia, though highly interesting, has been comparatively neglected.

Of all the natural sciences, however, the most interesting, and, as it appears to us, by far the most important, is zoology, or the history of animals, man included. This has received less attention than any of the others in the United States. As we have been accused of borrowing our learning from Great Britain, so we might be accused in this instance of following the example of her ignorance; for it is but lately that this science has received in that country the attention which it deserved. Few works on either of the numerous departments of this extensive science have been published in this country.

One of the great obstacles to the advancement of the sciences in this country, is the want of books, cabinets, and scientific apparatus in general. In a note to this Address, the number of books in the principal cities of the United States is thus stated.

'New York, with a population of 170,000, possesses ten public libraries, containing 44,000 volumes; Baltimore, with a population of 70,000, has four public libraries, containing 30,000 volumes; Philadelphia, with a population of 160,000, possesses nineteen public libraries, containing 70,000 volumes; Boston, with a population of 60,000, possesses thirteen public libraries, containing 55,000 volumes.' *Appendix*, p. 74.

But we hope that this deficiency will ere long be supplied. Great exertions are now making in Boston to procure an ample scientific library; and cabinets of minerals are becoming more common and extensive, throughout the United States. An attempt is now making in this vicinity to establish a museum of comparative anatomy, and we doubt not that it will meet with the success which it deserves.

Among those institutions, which seem to promise most for the diffusion of scientific knowledge, we may take this occasion to mention the Boston Athenæum.

This institution, one of the earliest of the kind in the United States, by the assistance of munificent individuals, and a judicious union with certain establishments before existing, now bids fair to become the most important.* When the arrangements

* This relative importance, even before the remarkable increase set forth in the Report, might be said to belong to the Boston Athenæum; especially since the

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proposed by the Committee, the title of whose Report stands at the head of this article, are completed, the library of the Athenæum will be richer in scientific books than any other in America; and will supply a deficiency, which has long been deeply felt by the lovers of science among us. An union has been effected with the Medical Library, and with the Scientific Association. The Medical Library contained more than two thousand volumes of well selected modern works on medicine, surgery, and chemistry, purchased within ten years, at an expense of more than four thousand five hundred dollars. This library now forms a part of the Athenæum. The proprietors of the Medical Library, being thirtyone in number, were entitled to life rights in the Athenæum, with the privilege of exchanging such life rights for full shares, by paying each an additional sum of one hundred and fifty dollars; thirty of these proprietors have taken shares in the Athenæum, paying in all, the sum of four thousand five hundred dollars; so that the property of the Athenæum is increased more than nine thousand dollars by this union.

The Scientific Association, formed a few months since, for the purpose of procuring a collection of scientific books, have obtained a subscription of three thousand seven hundred and fifteen dollars, of which above three thousand dollars has already been collected. An agreement for an union with this association, having been made by the committee, was approved by the proprietors of the Athenæum, at their meeting on the twentyfifth of May, 1826; and the whole amount subscribed will be appropriated for the purchase of the scientific books, contained in a catalogue prepared by the trustees of the Scientific Association, which catalogue does not contain any books now in the Athenæum. This department of the library will also be rendered much more complete by a sum subscribed in February, 1826, for procuring entire sets of the Transactions of the Royal Societies and Academies of Sciences in London, Edinburgh, Dublin, Paris, Petersburg, Berlin, Turin, Göttingen, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Madrid, and Lisbon.

The means taken by the Committee to supply the deficiencies in the library will best be seen by the following extract from their Report, which we cite as an example worthy of imitation in other communities, and likely to exert an important influence on the literature and science of the country.

'Having ascertained the deficiencies in the library to be great, they were considering the expediency of a general sub-

noble donation, amounting at the least to twenty thousand dollars, made a few years since by the late James Perkins, Esq. the brother of one, and the father of the other of the gentlemen mentioned in the Report.

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scription among the proprietors to supply the same, when Colonel Thomas H. Perkins, by a letter of March 30, 1826, munificently offered to give eight thousand dollars towards the completion of the new lecture rooms, provided the like sum should be subscribed, by other friends of the Athenæum, before the first day of November next; and James Perkins, Esq. by a letter of the same date, and in the same munificent spirit, made a similar offer, on similar conditions. Whereupon your committee, in pursuance of their instructions, did, on the tenth of April, lay the whole subject before the trustees, who, after voting the thanks of their board to Colonel Thomas H. Perkins and James Perkins, Esq. authorized and requested your committee forthwith to collect, in any way they might see fit, the sums necessary to secure to this institution the full benefit of the offer of the Messrs Perkins. The committee, accordingly, proceeded to obtain subscriptions, and did obtain them to the following amounts; viz.

Donations	$10,090
Amount paid by the proprietors of the Medical Library, to obtain full shares in the Athenæum . .	4,500
Fifteen new shares in the Athenæum, being all the shares which remain unsold	4,500
	$19,090
Donation of Col. Thomas H. Perkins . . .	8,000
Donation of James Perkins, Esq.	8,000
Subscription for the Transactions of London, Paris, &c. of which sum Colonel Perkins subscribed five hundred dollars, and James Perkins, Esq. five hundred dollars	1,700
Scientific Association (at least)	3,210
Amount in cash or approved securities	$40,000
To this add the value of the books of the Medical Library	4,500
Making the gross sum of	$44,500

'Being the amount of property added to the Athenæum since January last.

'Having obtained this large and generous subscription, your committee proceeded to make arrangements for supplying the deficiency in the Athenæum Library, according to the vote of the proprietors. They have prepared lists of books, which will be purchased as soon as may be, and they have made arrangements for completing the broken sets now in the Athenæum, and for binding the unbound books now on the shelves. Of the forty

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thousand dollars, therefore, which have been received, the following appropriations are already made; viz.

To the Lecture Rooms, Col. Perkins's donation .	$8,000
Catalogue prepared by the Trustees of the Scientific Association	3,210
Catalogue prepared by the Trustees of the Athenæum (about)	10,790
For binding and repairs	1,500
Making in all	$23,500

'Leaving the sum of sixteen thousand five hundred dollars to be added to the permanent funds of the institution, the income of which is to be appropriated to the purchase of books hereafter. But this is not the only, or the principal new source of income, that will be opened to the Athenæum, for the purchase of books, which may be estimated as follows; viz.

Income from new fund (about)	$900
from lecture rooms (about)	800
from circulation of books	900
from annual Scientific subscribers . . .	200
Making the whole annual income	$2,800

according to an extremely moderate computation, for the purchase of books; the income from the former funds of the institution having been found sufficient to pay the current expenses.'

Such a report requires few comments. It affords a cheering prospect, and the best evidence that the mantle of the fathers of New England still rests upon their children; that the spirit, which first reared her metropolis, is undiminished; and that, if the operation of natural causes has lessened her comparative political importance in the Union, she has no disposition to be left behind in the race of improvement, wherever a way remains open. In one particular department, that of popular lectures, she has, indeed, suffered a sister city to outstrip her for a short period; but she has only paused to gather strength, and will appear again on the arena with renewed vigor. Not to pursue the metaphor farther, it is obvious, that without a scientific library, the advantage of lectures must be comparatively slight. Lectures are, after all, merely a channel for the diffusion of scientific knowledge, the communication of scientific results in a condensed and popular form, and an instrument for exciting in the public a taste for this sort of information. The two first purposes cannot be answered, to any considerable extent, without easy access to the

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labors of the learned in other parts of the world; and every lover of science in this country, at least in this neighborhood, has had occasion to know and lament the obstacles, which have hitherto obstructed such access; and as to a taste for science, it is scarcely necessary to excite what cannot be gratified.

In short, we consider the proposed improvement in the Boston Athenæum as making an important era in the history of this city; and we trust, that the friends of learning in other parts of the United States will forgive their brethren here, if, in their rejoicing on this occasion, they should be betrayed into something like an appearance of self applause; if they express a hope of being able to acquire, what it is honorable even to strive for, preeminence in all good literature and science. May such preeminence never be undisputed. We would that success should be eagerly contested, not in words only, but deeds; we would not that this city should be great, because others are small; the best we can wish it, is to be *prima inter pares*, the most active and the most deserving among many worthy competitors.

In the statement of the number of books in Boston as quoted above from Dr De Kay's Address, the library of the University in this vicinity was, of course, not taken into the account. This valuable collection has been silently increasing for many years, and few, perhaps even in its immediate neighborhood, are aware of its present importance. In one department, that of American history, it has become, by the addition of the Ebeling and Warden collections, one of the richest in the world. We hope to be able, at some future time, to give a particular and elaborate account of the treasures contained in this noble collection, and of the sources from which they have been principally derived. We must content ourselves on this occasion with the expression of our hope, that in the present zeal for the general improvement of the University, this most important department will obtain its full share of attention.

A considerable part of Dr De Kay's Address is devoted to the consideration of the various expeditions for topographical and scientific purposes, under the direction of the general government. Small as these beginnings have been, they have done much for the advancement of science; and it is to be hoped, that they will be continued, and upon a more liberal scale. The Address has been evidently prepared with much industry, and does great credit to the author's regard for the sciences of which he treats.

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3.—*Journal of the Board of Public Works of the State of Georgia, at their First Session, held in Milledgeville, March,* 1826. Milledgeville. 8vo. pp. 13.

During the last session of the legislature of Georgia, an act was passed creating a Board of Public Works, and defining its duties. By this act the board consists of seven persons, in addition to the governor of the state; and the gentlemen, who have been appointed for the purpose by the legislature, are John Elliot, John Schly, John G. Pittman, Wilson Lumpkin, Joel Crawford, Elijah H. Burritt, James H. Cowper. The secretary and treasurer is Dr William Green. The first meeting of the Board was held on the twentieth of March last, when an appropriate address was delivered by governor Troup, as president, and the necessary preliminary arrangements for active operations were made. The general objects of the attention of the board may be understood by the following extract from the act defining its duties. 'The Board of Public Works, appointed by this legislature, shall so soon as they enter on the duties of their appointment, take into consideration the construction of an artificial canal between the Atlantic coast of the state, or the navigable waters which enter the sea, within the limits of the same, and the western limit of the present inhabited part of the state; and to search for, and investigate the best route by which such canal may be conducted, with the ultimate object of joining the waters of the Tennessee and Mississippi rivers; the canal to be so laid out as to run as near the centre of the state as may be convenient. And the Board of Public Works are further required to investigate and have surveyed the best routes by which canals may be united with the central canal, at the best and most convenient point to facilitate the communication with the Savannah river, and on the other side to join the next principal river on the south western side of the main canal abovementioned.'

From this section of the act it will be seen, that the views of the legislature of Georgia are broad and extensive. The beginning has also been considerate and judicious. Provision has as yet been made only for observations and surveys. A board of public works has been organized, and fifty thousand dollars appropriated for carrying these preliminary measures into effect, Mr Fulton, who has been for several years employed in North Carolina, is appointed chief engineer in Georgia, under the provisions of the above act, with a salary of five thousand dollars. Two assistant engineers, Elijah H. Burritt, and John Couty, have been appointed, each with a salary of twentyfive hundred dollars

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a year. From these facts it is obvious, that the legislature are resolved to begin the work of internal improvements on a liberal scale, and to derive the advantage, which in other instances has been so much neglected, of early scientific aid. The pamphlet before us contains a detailed report of the proceedings of the Board at its first session, and an account of the arrangements made for entering speedily on active operations.

4.—*The Deformed Boy.* By the Author of 'Redwood.' Boston, 1826. 18mo. pp. 40.

This is a beautiful and affecting little story, worthy of the authoress of Redwood. Her writings uniformly inculcate the purest morality, that which rests upon consistent religious principles; and we have reason to congratulate ourselves when such writers exercise their powers for the improvement of children. The unthinking may consider it a humble and easy task, but there are those who can estimate it more justly, and prize it as it deserves.

The incidents of this little tale are striking, and they are stated to be true. They afford a view of those severe calamities to which the poor are exposed; especially the wives and children of the intemperate. Their sufferings ought to be pressed upon the attention, and as far as possible, brought home to the feelings of the rich and prosperous. Money, which might have been employed to relieve some of the most bitter evils to which man is exposed, is often wasted in merely idle self indulgence without any real gratification to those who thus misuse it. It is painful to know how much is often readily given to vanity, and how little at the same time is grudgingly yielded to benevolence and duty.

There is in this story a great deal of pathos, too much perhaps considering that it is designed for children. To a young person of much sensibility and tenderness, some parts of it must be distressingly painful. This is the only objection to the following scene. Few real or fictitious narratives present anything more touching. Mr Aikin's family are represented as assembled at breakfast; when, after a loud knocking at the door, a little boy, the deformed boy, is admitted.

'The boy seemed almost stiffened with the cold; but regardless of himself, and apparently impelled by instinct, he ran up to Mrs Aikin, and grasping her gown, he said, with a voice so tremulous as to be almost inaudible, "O Ma'am, do come and see what ails mother!"

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'"Why, who is your mother, child? and who are you?" asked Mrs Aiken.

'"Oh, do come and see, Ma'am—now—quick. I am afraid mother will burn the house up, for she is lighting the fire with all our clothes—she does not act like mother—do—do come and see what ails her."'

'Mrs Aikin threw on her cloak, and taking the child's hand, he led her through a lane, which running by the corner of her house, formed the communication between the street she lived upon, and a street in the rear of that, where there were several one story houses, or rather hovels which had been erected as temporary habitations for the poorest class of people. Into one of the most wretched of these, Mrs Aikin followed her little conductor, and there she beheld a spectacle of misery that sufficiently explained the poor child's distress. His mother sat on the hearth with a pale, half famished looking infant in her arms crying piteously, and seeking nourishment at her breast, where, alas! there was none. She was deliberately tearing up a cotton frock and throwing it, piece by piece, on the few embers that lay in the fireplace.

'She rose on seeing Mrs Aikin, as if from habitual good manners, and after looking round for a chair, she smiled, and said, "Oh! I remember, they took my chairs; but, pray be seated, Ma'am,—I have been trying," she continued, "to kindle a fire to warm my baby and me, but my stuff is so light it goes out directly, and we don't seem to get warm, Ma'am."

'Mrs Aikin perceived at a single glance at the poor woman's burning cheeks and parched lips, that she was in the delirium of a fever. She approached her and offered to take the child.

'"Oh no," she said, "not my baby; you know when they took all the rest, they promised not to take my baby."

'"But let me try to quiet her for you."

'"No, I thank you, Ma'am—she is only fretting for her breakfast." She put the infant again to her breast; the child seized it with the eagerness of starvation, and then redoubled its cries.

'"I make but a poor nurse," said the mother, smiling faintly; "I think it does not agree with me to live without food.—Do you think that can be the reason my baby does not thrive, Ma'am?" and she raised her eyes to Mrs Aikin, as if appealing for her opinion. The tears of compassion were streaming down Mrs Aikin's cheeks, and the poor woman apparently from pure sympathy, burst into loud sobs. The little boy threw himself on a bed in a corner of the room, and burying his head in the bedclothes, tried thus to suppress his cries.

'Mrs Aikin, aware that the wants of these sufferers would not

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justify a moment's delay of the succor they needed, called the boy to her and despatched him to her husband with a note, which she hastily wrote with a pencil on the back of a letter. While he was gone, she had leisure to observe the extreme wretchedness of the apartment, in which there was not an article of furniture, save a straw bed and its scanty covering. There were shreds of the garments strewed about the floor, the 'light stuff,' the poor crazed woman had been burning to warm her infant.

'"Have you been long sick, my friend?" she asked, with the faint hope of obtaining a rational answer.

'"Sick! sick!" replied the mother, "yes, a good while, I have been sick a trifle; the intermittent and the typhus, but I believe I am getting the better of it all, for yesterday I felt quite hungry."

'"And did you take any thing?" asked Mrs Aikin.

'"Oh yes," she answered, drawing near to Mrs Aikin, and whispering with an air of great self complacency, "I did indeed take something—all I had in the house—an excellent thing to blunt the edge of one's appetite—laudanum—you know, Ma'am, it is doctor's stuff, and the doctors know how to cure an appetite."

'"God help you, poor woman!" exclaimed Mrs Aikin.

'"God help me!" reiterated the poor creature, with a piercing cry, "there is no help for me," and she sunk on the side of the bed and wept freely.'

We could have wished that the repentance of the dishonest boy had been described in more striking terms, that his sufferings might have operated as a more effectual warning. Some readers may perhaps think that the story would have been improved if the last two paragraphs had been omitted. The present of the breast pins to children in a situation such as is described may not appear the most appropriate.

5.—*American Journal of Education.* Volume First. Nos. 1—6. Boston. Thomas B. Wait & Son. 8vo. pp. 384.

When this monthly publication was proposed, there were not a few, we believe, who considered the subject of education too specific and too limited to afford materials for a journal of large size and long duration. But if their own reflections have not convinced them of their error, an examination of this valuable work will satisfy them, that the subject affords materials of great variety, and of deep interest to the community. Whatever tends to form a sound mind in a sound body, or in other words, to rear the most perfect moral, intellectual, and physical man, is within

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the compass of its inquiries. The subject of education was not indeed overlooked in our respectable journals, which previously existed; but there is a vast deal of information concerning it, which could not be embodied in any one, if in all of them; and our only surprise is, that a work was not earlier projected on a similar plan to that of the one before us.

We have been favored with a few essays and systems concerning education at different periods, written in our language, which are entitled to respect. But it is, after all, difficult to educate children and youth by a system of axioms and rules, however well illustrated; to know when and how far to deviate from the authority, and to adapt the discipline required, either in regard to government or modes of instruction, to all the varieties of disposition and intellect. Little more, therefore, than useful hints can be imparted in elaborate treatises on education, and those we think can be better conveyed in a popular journal. In this way there is a more constant action of one mind upon another; the suggestions, partial and obscure, it may be, of one person, will be amplified and illustrated by a second, and each part of the community will be told what is doing or done in every other. Thus whatever is most valuable in systematic treatises will find its way to the reading public, and will be presented in such a variety of shapes, as to be understood and duly regarded.

A principal purpose of the Journal, according to the Prospectus, and one which seems to be in a successful course of execution, is to collect and record facts, in regard to the state of education in the United States and foreign countries, and consequently to give some account of schools, colleges, and universities in all their varieties and gradations. This part of the plan we consider very important, and one which will prove to be interesting to a great number of readers, and will be the means of extending the improvements in education, which originate in one portion of our great republic, to every other part. And this is an age in which there seems to be sufficient readiness to try all kinds of experiments, sometimes perhaps with less prudence and foresight than the case demands. Still the tendency, on the whole, is good; for we are not among those who admit that error of any sort is sanctified by antiquity.

To those of our readers, if any there be, who have not seen the American Journal of Education, we offer the following extract from the prospectus, which shows the enlarged and liberal views of its conductors on the subject of education.

'Nothing, it seems to us, has had more influence in retarding the progress of improvement in the science of instruction, than narrow and partial views of what education should be expected

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to produce. Intellectual attainments have been too exclusively the object of attention. It is too common a thing to consider a man well educated, if he has made a proper use of the common facilities for the acquisition of learning; though the result may have been obtained at the expense of his health, and with much neglect of that moral culture, which is the surest foundation of happiness. In many plans of education, which are in other respects excellent, the fact seems to have been overlooked, that man possesses an animal, and a moral, as well as an intellectual constitution. Hence the total neglect of the requisite provisions for the developement of the corporeal system, and the confirmation and improvement of health, the only foundation of mental as well as of bodily power. The moral department of education has too commonly been restricted to an occasional word of parental approbation or reproof; or, at the best, to efforts limited by the sphere of domestic life. The natural consequence of the restrictions thus unjustly laid on education, is, that we often find, in the same individual, a learned head, but a debilitated body, and a neglected heart. Education should, we think, be regarded as the means of fitting man for the discharge of *all* his duties; it should produce vigorous and hardy bodies, trained to powerful action, and inured to privation and fatigue; hearts formed to all that is pure and noble in moral principle; and minds prepared for efficient exertion in whatever may be their department in the great business of accomplishing the purposes of human existence.'

No. I, pp. 2, 3.

In the further details of the plan of the work, nothing material seems to be overlooked in regard to pupils of any age or of either sex. As to its execution, it would be too much to expect, if it were even desirable, that there should be perfect consistency among the contributors to the Journal, in their views of education, and their judgment concerning the best books and methods of instruction. The conductors of the work disclaim the attempt to obtrude any favorite theories of their own, and should not, therefore, be held responsible for diversity of opinion, in those who are ready to aid the general cause.

We cheerfully recommend this Journal to all heads of families, to instructers of youth, and to pupils who have made any considerable advances in knowledge.

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6.—*Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts.* By OCTAVIUS PICKERING, Counsellor at Law. No. 1. VOL. III. Boston. Harrison Gray. 1826. 8vo. pp. 152.

THE Reporter has here assumed a new form of publication, which we think will be highly acceptable to the profession, and useful to the public. We presume his plan is to furnish the practitioner and student of the law with recent decisions of our Supreme Court, by promulgating them from time to time in the shape of a well sized pamphlet, instead of waiting for the tardy accumulation of a whole volume.

The complexity of human affairs, and the infinite variety of combinations of which they are susceptible, must forever present new questions of law to the mind of the most accomplished jurist, depending often upon nice principles, remote analogies, and the most delicate shades of distinction. The improvements and changes which are constantly taking place in the arts of life, and the relations of society, give birth to new series of doubts and difficulties in the application of legal principles to individual rights and the interests of mankind, which can be finally settled only by a new series of adjudications. It is highly important to the professional laborer to be enabled to keep pace with these, by the means of early and authentic publications. As the decisions of our court are rendered before the bars of different counties, and it is not the habit of our lawyers to follow its circuits, they have no other means of becoming acquainted with what has been decided in distant parts of the commonwealth. The profession necessarily rely upon the latest report for the law of the day; and many a client might have been saved the expense and vexation of a suit instituted and resisted for the purpose of ascertaining and settling some point of glorious uncertainty in the law, if his professional adviser had been aware of some recent adjudication, which had not yet made its way into print.

The present, which is the first part of Mr Pickering's third volume, contains a report of decided cases, which were argued in Suffolk during the March term of 1825, but upon which final judgments were not rendered, at least in most instances, until the March term of the present year. We notice among them several which are of great importance to the community. The case of the Commonwealth *versus* Harrington, in which an indictment against the defendant for letting a house to a woman of ill fame, knowing that it was to be used for purposes of prostitution, was sustained upon

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the broad principle, that the common law will punish *proprio vigore* in every case of exciting, aiding, and encouraging another to commit a misdemeanor, as being in itself a misdemeanor on the part of the abettor, is one which will contribute largely to the preservation of the peace and good morals of society. Merchants and insurers will be glad to learn something upon a question so commonly vexed among them, and so frequently misunderstood by all classes, as what constitutes a technical *bilging*. The case of Ellery *versus* Merchants' Insurance Company settles that there must be an actual *breach* by violence in some part of the vessel, and that the mere gaping of the seams, although occasioned by some formidable accident of the sea, and producing all the bad consequences of a fracture in the ship's bottom, is not a bilging. If we are right, however, in our present recollections of the case of Peele *versus* the same insurance company, recently determined by the first Circuit Court of the United States, the community at large may still be somewhat puzzled between the two decisions. At any rate room enough is yet left for the profession to exercise their wits, in cases which may hereafter arise, upon a question so simple at first view. Banks and depositers will be interested to find it established, that in suits between them the books of the bank are competent evidence to show receipts and payments of money, even though the clerk who made the entries cannot be produced to swear to them; which point, among others, we perceive was adjudged in the case of the Union Bank *versus* Knapp.

There are many other cases of considerable technical interest, and some involving matters of extensive practical consequence. Among the latter we notice that of Dawes, Judge &c. *versus* Head and others, in which the important questions were raised and discussed at the bar, with great ability and very learned research, as to the relative rights of foreigners and our own citizens in regard to the distribution among creditors of property here, belonging to the estates of foreign bankrupts, or persons deceased abroad; and the extent to which a noble species of international comity ought to be carried, in taking judicial cognizance of the laws and institutions of other countries, affecting the rights of their subjects, consistently with that protection which every sovereign is bound, as a primary duty, to render to its own, in cases of conflicting interests. These questions were supposed to arise upon the claims of sundry creditors here to appropriate funds in the hands of an ancillary administrator to the discharge of their own debts in *full*, while the same funds were required by the original administrator abroad, to be divided ratably among the creditors at large of the estate, the whole of the proceeds of which was supposed to be inadequate to pay all the demands against it. The case turned, how-

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ever, upon other and more technical considerations; so that we must still say, in the language of the court, that these questions, 'which are of a novel and delicate nature, though often glanced at, do not appear to have been decided in this, or any other State of the Union.' The case, however, is still of great value, not only for the large and enlightened views thrown out by the learned Chief Justice for consideration, rather than as matter of adjudication, but also as containing a copious index to the law upon this interesting topic. The extensive intercourse of a country so commercial as ours with foreign nations, cannot fail ere long to present this question to the court in some tangible and inevitable shape.

The profession are greatly indebted to Mr Pickering for the industry, fidelity, and professional skill which he has exercised in reporting for several years the cases argued and determined in the highest court of Massachusetts. We are not aware that any contemporary reporter, in either of the United States, is prosecuting his laborious task more ably, or in a style of greater general utility; and we shall be glad to see in due process of time as many volumes of his reports as have been put forth by the learned reporter of New York. In the volumes already edited, the arguments of counsel are generally given succinctly and clearly upon the real points in the case; the marginal notes are well digested; and the index is accurate and sufficiently copious. We trust and believe that this gentleman will be remunerated for the additional trouble and expense of publishing in numbers, to which he has now put himself, by an increased circulation of his work. The recent date of the decisions will make them an object of greater curiosity and interest; and many of the learned pursuers of the law, who do not find it is easy to set apart enough from their professional emoluments to purchase a thick octavo of six hundred pages, may probably be induced to try the experiment, whether four pamphlets of one hundred and fifty pages each come to the same thing in the end.

The execution of the present number is in every respect creditable, and much freer from typographical errors than the preceding volumes. Indeed we have observed none of much consequence upon a hasty reading. It would be desirable that each number should so terminate, if possible, as not to break a case in the midst, which is now done with M' Mechan *versus* Griffing; but where a volume is to be formed from the several parts, it will manifestly be very difficult to avoid this always.

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7.—*Publius Virgilius Maro. Bucolica, Georgica, et Æneis. Accedunt Clavis Metrica, Notulæ Anglicæ, et Quæstiones, nec non Index Vocabulorum uberrima.* Curâ B. A. Gould. In Usum Scholæ Bostoniensis. Bostoniæ. Sumptibus Cummings, Hilliard, et Soc. 1826. 8vo. pp. 813.

If anything be necessary to be known in order to recommend this book to general favor, besides the name of the respectable teacher by whom it is edited, it is, that its proof sheets have been subjected to the severe inspection of the critical scholar who is connected with the University Press, at which it was printed. For, whatever excellences may belong to a Latin book to be used by the young student, in regard to its general plan or execution, they cannot compensate for typographical inaccuracy. This is a thing which a boy never suspects; and if it often occur, it discourages the learner, and occasions a great waste of time, while he is endeavoring to find a word or to explain a construction, which never existed. It was justly suggested by the editor of the Boston edition of Jacob's Greek Reader, as a defect in our printing establishments, that 'the place of a professional *corrector*, which is considered indispensable in the respectable printing houses of Europe, is generally unknown in this country.' It is a fact, which ought therefore to be widely circulated, that all the classical works which now proceed from the Cambridge University press, are revised and corrected by a competent and very accurate scholar, who is devoted to this highly useful, though unambitious branch of literary labor. We have, consequently, the utmost confidence in the correctness of the text of the edition of Virgil now before us. If we had read the whole, and discovered no error, we should not dare to pronounce it immaculate, for perfection we consider only among the possibilities. We have had opportunity to examine only portions here and there; but as far as our examination has extended, we have discovered no typographical error, and no inconsistency in the orthography.

The text is printed from Didot's stereotype edition, and is substantially that of Heyne, collated with those of Heinsius, Burmann, and others. It is printed with great neatness, in a type of sufficient size, producing well defined, well filled, well rounded letters, such as the eye may dwell upon without pain or weariness. We are acquainted with no edition, which, as regards typography, the accuracy of the text, and the correctness of punctuation, we should believe, will be read with more satisfaction.

We rejoice to find this edition of Virgil excluding the *order of*

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construction or the *interpretation*, which has so long disfigured our school Virgil, and other Latin poets. This interpretation, and translations into English of similar demerit, have often been the miserable crutches by which boys have limped their weary way through the Æneid, wholly unsuspicious that they were in company with one of the greatest poets of ancient or modern times. Teachers, also, have frequently erred by putting Virgil into the hands of boys of too tender years, or of young men too little advanced in the knowledge of Latin. Deprived of these facilities, as we trust they soon will be, and will gladly consent to be, they will find that Virgil is not among the first authors to be studied by their pupils; and that, in order to be read with pleasure and advantage, a copious vocabulary, and considerable skill in the construction of the Latin language, are requisite. But to return to the interpretation, which fills the margin of the editions of Virgil in common use; we are happy to add the remarks of Mr Gould on this subject, which, from his experience and observation as an instructer, are entitled to particular respect.

'If any one cause has operated more than every other to prevent young men from acquiring a free and easy manner of reading the Latin poets, it unquestionably is the habit of using an *order of construction*, or an *interpretation*. The use of these pernicious helps not only prevents those who rely on them from ever acquiring the power of reading with ease and pleasure without them, but it is utterly subversive of one of the principal objects of studying the language, that mental discipline which is acquired by the practice of critical and exact analysis. This salutary influence, the use of an *order* or of an *interpretation* effectually counteracts.

'The student will hardly take the pains of disentangling an intricate sentence, when the work is done to his hand; nor will the test of grammatical construction or of prosody be applied, when a glance at the interpretation will remove all doubts. The habit of thus referring to the judgment of others soon becomes settled; while that of analysing is never formed, nor the discipline of mind acquired, which it is suited to effect. Besides this, the habit of using these unnecessary aids prevents that feeling of self reliance, which successful efforts alone can secure.

'To this cause we must attribute the fact, that so few among our educated men read the Latin poets with ease or pleasure. But if the habit of reading independently of foreign assistance be once formed, the want of such assistance is not felt. It is found by experience, that boys, who have been taught in this way, read Horace and Juvenal as readily as they do Cicero and Tacitus; and even with more confidence; since in poetry they are furnish-

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ed by prosody with an unerring test for resolving many doubts, while in prose they have no such aid.

'These are not new views. Books furnished with these auxiliaries are going out of use in the best schools in foreign countries. Thirty years ago the learned and practical Vicesimus Knox expressed his disapprobation of them.' *Preface*, p. 3.

Immediately following the text is a Metrical Key, containing a selection of the verses most difficult to be scanned, and a solution of them. The solution extends through the whole of the Eclogues, Georgics, and Æneid, in the order in which the verses occur. The editor has followed the authority of Dr Carey, well known by his learned labors in Latin prosody. The value of prosody has been generally much underrated by instructers in our schools and academies, and they have, for the most part, contented themselves with a very superficial knowledge of the subject, and consequently with a very imperfect mode of teaching it. This key, in which the various peculiarities of the author are particularly explained, will convince them that every thing is not at once plain and obvious, even in hexameter verse; and that certain things which are peculiar, and which have commonly been referred to arbitrary authority, are founded in rules that can be made perfectly intelligible.

Concerning the Notes in this edition, the following account is given in the Preface.

'In preparing the Notes, free use has been made of all the materials within the editor's reach. In all cases, where it could consistently be done, the authority has been given, except where the notes of Mr Valpy's edition have been adopted. These, as his own remarks are frequently blended with other authorities, have not been particularly designated. The notes of the learned I. H. Voss were first made English for that edition, to which notes this is likewise indebted. The notes are explanatory of the text, and not designed to supersede the use of the Classical Dictionary; which should never be out of the student's reach. In the vast variety of materials presented, it has been found difficult to be sufficiently concise. For it is easy to say much upon Virgil, but difficult to say a little to the point. Boys will not voluntarily read long notes, even in their vernacular tongue; much less in a foreign language. But, when embarrassed, they will seek relief from notes, if they are short.' *Preface*, p. 4.

The notes are various in their kind; and not among the least frequent or useful are those of a philological character. The editor will not be accused of superfluity or prolixness in this part of his work; and his reasons for brevity are such as every person of similar experience will accept without hesitation. In the phi-

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lological notes, when other authors are cited for the sake of criticism, or interpretation of the text of Virgil, the place in which the phrase or passage is found is commonly referred to. Numerous mistakes of reference, with corruptions and disfigurements of the cited passages, were found in Valpy's notes, which have been corrected for Mr Gould's edition, by the unusually faithful examination of the gentleman before mentioned, as corrector of the press.

A series of Questions are annexed, arising as well from the notes as from the text, which will assist the teacher in ascertaining how far the pupil has studied the author understandingly, and made faithful use of the notes, and also of his Classical Dictionary. But apart from the use to be made of these questions by the instructer, we have no doubt that they will of themselves attract the attention of many intelligent and inquisitive pupils, and thus quicken their recollection of the whole subject matter of the several poems, as well as of the criticism of particular passages.

Lastly we cannot forbear to say one word of the Index, which has been adapted by a rigorous revision of words and phrases, to the particular text to which it refers. We had begun to fear that *indices*, which have been so much neglected by modern scholars, were getting to be considered a kind of lore too antiquated and cumbrous for the present age. But we recollect too well the assistance we have derived from the indexes to our classics in comparing words and phrases, and in recovering a partially remembered passage, to withhold our thanks for the labor which has been bestowed upon the index of the present edition of Virgil.

It is not long since we were dependent mainly on our parent country for books in the learned languages, to be used in our schools and colleges; and the few that were reprinted here were generally so inaccurate, as to be wholly undeserving of confidence. But the time has come when we must rely on our own presses to supply the demand for such books. We cannot afford the expense of importing them; and if we could, there have been such improvements in printing, and there are so many scholars among us qualified for the literary execution of them, that no reason remains why we should not depend upon our own means of preparing and furnishing suitable books. But to this end it is all important that some competent scholar should be so connected with the printing establishment whence the books proceed, as to have a well known responsibility, and the opportunity of establishing his reputation by industry and experience. And what more suitable establishment for this purpose can be named, than the printing press of our oldest and best endowed University; the first erected press in the United States, and having subsidiary to it the amplest library of those books of reference, which are indispensable to the right discharge of an editor's duty.

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The experiment has already commenced, and three other works have preceded the one now before us, which have passed through the hands of the corrector of the press, and for whose accuracy he is responsible; namely, Gould's edition of Adam's Latin Grammar, the Four Gospels, and Collectanea Græca Minora. As far as we can speak from our knowledge, or from the testimony of others, we are free to declare our full belief that these several books mentioned are as nearly perfect in regard to typographical correctness, as any reasonable man can expect. Of these books, Mr Gould's edition of Adam's Latin Grammar was noticed in the fiftieth Number of our Journal. The Four Gospels, the only part of the Greek Testament, now required for admission into Harvard University, is furnished with a Greek and English Lexicon, prepared by a distinguished scholar in the vicinity of Cambridge. In the sixth edition of the Collectanea Græca Minora, the notes, and the definitions in the Lexicon, are translated into English. So many errors had crept into the text of this work, that no small obligation is conferred on our schools by this edition, which needs only to be known in order to supersede the use of all others.

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Without pretending to an adequate knowledge of the scientific, or professional character of this work, we may safely recommend it as containing many valuable facts on an important subject, and the results of the observations of an experienced practitioner. If we may judge from the fatal effects of the autumnal fevers of the South, including the yellow fever, and the frequency with which they baffle medical application, it may reasonably be inferred, that much remains to be learnt of their origin and characteristics, and the best modes of treating them. Every one, who adds to the present slender stock of knowledge on these subjects, renders a beneficial service to his species. We make the following extract from Mr Daniell's work.

'One reason alleged, especially in Europe, for a belief in contagion of yellow fever is, the reputed fact, that the same person cannot take the disease a second time. Although the infrequency of a second attack from the causes alleged above, gives some plausibility to the assertion, it is certainly erroneous. It is a very common impression among our inhabitants, that a person who has experienced a severe fever should seek, the following season, a northern climate for the perfect restoration of his health. Such as adopt this means destroy the future protection derived from the attack of the fever; and render themselves, upon another summer's residence amongst us, almost as obnoxious to the causes of the disease as upon the first exposure.

'Nearly three hundred negroes were brought into this place [Savannah] early in 1820, who had been captured on our coast by government vessels. They were recently from Africa. These persons remained in Savannah during the prevalence of yellow fever, and not one suffered from the disease. Their exemption is attributable to their habitual exposure, in their native country, to the causes of yellow fever, equally concentrated with those which prevailed here, at that time producing among us a mortality perhaps unexampled in this country. Africans, however, like other people, are subject to the influence of climate, custom, and habits; and the exemption from yellow fever, which they acquire by their habitual exposure at home, is generally impaired by their translation to more healthy climates. Dr Rush, supported by some West India physicians then in Philadelphia, declared the negroes not liable to yellow fever. Observation, however, soon satisfied him of his error, which was readily acknowledged. The opinion of the West India physicians, confined to the field of their observations at home, was no doubt correct. It was the change of climate, with the subsequent change of habit, that subjected the negroes of Philadelphia to yellow fever.

'Negroes, habituated to the atmosphere of rice plantations, are in a very great degree exempt from severe autumnal diseases; and the native African more so than his offspring; and they are more liable to the diseases of the winter. House servants are more liable to the former and less so to the latter. This difference of predisposition, among members of the same family, is mainly attributable to the influence of their habits and customs. Many of our domestics became victims to the yellow fever of 1820. The rice field negro is less removed in his atmosphere, habits, and customs, from those of his native country, than the house servant. The first delights in the heat of our hottest days, if we may judge from the manner in which he voluntarily exposes himself both awake and asleep

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to the direct influence of the sun; whilst the latter studiously avoids it. In the proportion that an individual acquires an exemption from yellow fever, his liability to winter disease increases. Nature has most happily endowed our systems with a capacity to adapt themselves to new situations. That state of the system which is best qualified to shield us from yellow fever, is least calculated to protect us from winter disease, and *vice versâ*. The skin of the African, defending him from disease in the midst of his exposures at home, upon a translation to a cold region, renders him highly obnoxious to winter disease. The vigorous health of the New Englandman, that sustains him in his hardy exposure at home, qualifies him for severe disease, when translated to the West Indies.'

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be after its appearance in England. It will be reprinted by him here, for her benefit, uniformly with the volume now proposed.

Proposals have been issued for publishing by subscription a new Edition of LEE'S MEMOIRS OF THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION in the SOUTHERN DEPARTMENT OF THE UNITED STATES; with CORRECTIONS left by the AUTHOR, and with NOTES and ADDITIONS by H. LEE, the Author of the CAMPAIGN OF '81.

These last will contain short Biographical Notices of Generals Wayne and Pickens. The work will be delivered by Davis & Force, in the city of Washington, in one neat octavo volume, of about 500 pages, on or before the next meeting of Congress, and immediately after in the principal cities of the United States, at *two dollars and fifty cents* a copy.

We are glad to find that a new edition of this work is coming before the public under auspices so favorable. In its original form it constitutes a valuable contribution to the history of the American Revolution; and with the additions promised by the present editor, it cannot fail to be rendered still more interesting and important. A new edition has been for some time wanted to answer the demand of the public.

A MAP OF THE NEW ENGLAND STATES, with the Adjacent Parts of NEW YORK and UPPER CANADA. By NATHAN HALE.

The character of this work, which is nearly ready for publication, may be best learned from the following extract from the Prospectus, just published.

'This Map is drawn on a scale of eight miles to an inch. It exhibits the boundaries of every town, the principal public roads (distinguishing the turnpikes and most frequented public roads), the rivers and streams, bridges, villages, meeting-houses, and other objects which the size of the map admits of having delineated.

'In drawing the Map, care has been taken to consult, not only the published maps of the several states, but all the local maps, charts, and surveys of towns, or other sections of country, harbours, bays, rivers and roads, published or in manuscript, to which the compiler could obtain access. For the States of Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Vermont, the excellent maps of Messrs. Warren and Gillet, Carrigan and Whitelaw, drawn from surveys made for the purpose, left little to be desired. For the other states embraced in the map, all the published maps and charts have been carefully examined and compared, besides a vast number of manuscript surveys, made either by public authority or for private purposes. Among the surveys consulted are those made by Mr. John G. Hales, for a map of Massachusetts; those made for determining the boundaries of the several states; the surveys of the towns in Massachusetts and Maine, in the office of the secretary of state, made by order of the legislature of Massachusetts; those made for ascertaining particular routes for canals, and for the improvement of Connecticut river; the numerous surveys and plans in the Massachusetts Land Office; and many others, for the use of which the compiler has been indebted to the liberality of their respective proprietors. For the boundaries of towns, the acts of incorporation have been consulted, and for the course of roads and streams, and the location of other objects, every source likely to afford information, and within the reach of the compiler has been resorted to, to supply, in addition to the fruits of his personal observation, the deficiency of complete surveys. It is therefore hoped that, with the great labour that has been devoted to the work for the space of several years, it is at least as accurate as any work of the kind that has been published in this country.

'An ingenious and careful engraver has been employed for several years upon the work, and so far as the execution has depended upon him it is believed the public will have nothing to complain of. He has been indefatigable in his exertions to render it correct, and of his success in the style of execution the public will be able to judge for themselves, on comparing it with works of a similar kind.

'The engraving is now finished, with the exception of a few corrections which

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remain to be made, and it will be printed and ready for delivery to subscribers in the course of a few weeks. It will be printed in four sheets, on paper of the best quality, made for the purpose.'

A TREATISE ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE HUMAN MIND, being the LECTURES of the late THOMAS BROWN, M. D. Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, abridged and separated according to the Natural Divisions of the Subject, for the use of Colleges and other Seminaries, by LEVI HEDGE, LL. D. Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in Harvard University.

The design of this edition is to put the valuable work of Dr Brown into such a form as shall render it suitable for a Text Book in colleges and other seminaries. In order to this, 'the unending repetitions and diffused amplifications,' of the Lectures will be retrenched; and what is retained will be divided into Books, Chapters, and Sections; yet in such a manner as to exhibit, *in his own words, and according to his own arrangement, every topic* treated by the author, and to leave his reasonings accompanied by a sufficient number of illustrations.

As these Lectures, which did not appear till after the author's death, had never been prepared by him for publication, it is not surprising that not a little, which was highly useful in them as *oral* addresses, should have a contrary effect when they come to be carefully perused; and that the recapitulatory portions, which served to refresh the memory of *auditors* after a considerable interval, should prove merely an impediment and a cause of weariness to *readers*, whose perceptions are clearer, and whose progress is more sure and rapid, the nearer the related parts of the subject lie together.

Dr Brown himself published a Fragment of an Abstract of the First Part of his system, the Physiology of the Mind. Advantage will be taken of this, as far as it goes, in making the Divisions, and the whole will be executed, as nearly as may be, according to the known views of the author.

Though specially intended for academic classes, this book will probably not be unacceptable to general readers, who wish to become readily acquainted with Dr Brown's System of Mental Philosophy, or any part of it, as set forth in his own animated style.

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